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EDITORIAL

A LESSON FOR EL SALVADOR

It is very seldom that the right can accuse the left of being indifferent to free elections—and when the context is Latin America the idea seems absurd. Yet when the Salvadorans went to the polls last week (a privilege denied their Chilean and Argentine brothers and sisters, not to mention their Uruguayan and Bolivian ones), there was general skepticism from socialists and liberals about the usefulness of the exercise.

In April 1979, an election was held in—as it was still then known—Rhodesia. The purpose was to create a "credible" black government to prosecute the war against the guerrillas from a basis of "reform." In that election, the favored candidate of Western and South African interests was Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a man with some track record as a liberal. Out of 1,869,077 valid votes cast, his party took 67 percent and captured fifty-one out of seventy-two legislative seats. Ian Smith and his party had reserved certain seats for themselves; no candidate of the guerrilla or exile parties ran in the election; rebel efforts to discourage voters from attending the polling stations were generally unsuccessful. Most newspapers saw the whole thing as a triumph for "moderation."

In February 1980, less than a year later, an election was held in Rhodesia. This time the guerrilla forces, having been legalized, fielded two rival parties, one of which won the election by a majority and precipitated Robert Mugabe into power. Bishop Muzorewa's party, out of 2,649,529 valid votes, took 8.27 percent and captured just three of eighty seats. Surely more than a midterm verdict from the electors.

José Napoleón Duarte probably has enough things to worry about as it is—not the least his own Ian Smith in the form of "Major Bob," the "pathological killer." But he might also spare a thought for the Bishop.

FOOTNOTES FROM THE CAPITAL
I.F. Stone

THE ARC OF INSTABILITY
Fred Halliday

NIGERIA: CHAOS AHEAD?
Robert Irwin

BOTTOM-UP EMPLOYMENT PLANNING
Bertram Gross and Stanley Moses

STALIN AND THE BLACK BOOK
Terrence Des Pres

REAGAN'S RULE OF LAW—I

A DEPARTMENT CALLED JUSTICE

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

Since their very first days in office, Ronald Reagan and his colleagues have tried to turn the clock back to the 1920s, before all this social, economic and constitutional reform began. No Administration in the last fifty years has been so ideologically committed to helping the rich and the privileged at the expense of the poor and the afflicted. And none have been so willing to bypass or reinterpret the laws of the United States and the Constitution when they get in the way.

Paradoxically, this attitude has been especially prevalent at the Department of Justice. Led by William French Smith, a Los Angeles lawyer who was Reagan's financial adviser, the department has brushed aside Supreme Court and other legal precedents and has overridden fundamental constitutional principles that command the allegiance of even the most conservative lawyers. Smith himself has attacked the Federal judiciary for not falling in line with his notions of what the majority of the country wants, and he has politicized the department to an unparalleled degree.

Of course, the Justice Department can't be entirely above either politics or ideology—the Attorney General is, after all, the President's lawyer. But it is supposed to be faithful to the rule of law and the defense of the Constitution, and, in the words of Lincoln's Attorney General, Edward Bates, it is supposed "to resist all involvements from whatever quarter, of mere will and power." The attitude of the myopic ideologues who now inhabit that department, however, is best typified by a statement from

(*Continued on Page 426*)

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LETTERS.

AN OASIS OF REASON

Berkeley, Calif.

As a new reader of *The Nation*, I would like to congratulate you on your fine issue "Myths About the Middle East" [Dec. 5, 1981]. Groups like New Jewish Agenda, working for mutual recognition and respect between Jews and Arabs, are greatly encouraged by magazines such as *The Nation*, which is unfortunately one of the few that consistently cover the Middle East accurately. For the most part, American media provide a desert of ignorance and New Right cant in their coverage of the Middle East.

Hillel Kook is an Israeli political thinker who has never received the kind of attention that his arresting ideas deserve. Some of his obscurity may be due to his combative, go-it-alone temperament. Nevertheless, I was happy to see his ideas discussed in *The Nation*'s editorial page. . . .

I would take issue with Edward Mortimer's oversympathetic portrayal of Moslem attitudes toward Jews through the ages in his article "Is Islam Anti-Semitic?" He quotes an Islamic scholar as saying: "On the whole there was more genuine toleration of non-Moslems under Islam than there was of non-Christians in medieval Christian states. . . . On the whole . . . the 'protected minorities' had a tolerable existence." The repeated qualifiers almost qualify the quotation out of existence. Certainly, Christians were more consistently anti-Semitic than Moslems. But Moslem breaches of their vaunted tolerance toward Jews were frequent in Spain, and later in Morocco and Yemen.

These murderous "episodes" occurred too often, and were too virulent, to be seen as exceptions to a rule. When one speaks of treatment of Jews by Moslems, one must examine individual historical periods, rather than generalize as Mortimer has done. . . .

Richard Silverstein

ACCEPTING EACH SIDE'S LEGITIMACY

Jerusalem

I was greatly disappointed by Edward Said's "Reflections on the Palestinians" and Sadik Al-Azm's "The 'Zionist Analogy'" in the special Middle East issue. Precisely because I value their intellectual honesty and view much of what they said as admirable and even courageous, I found their basic premise utterly unsatisfactory.

Stripped of all rhetoric, both writers still maintain that Zionism is an illegitimate phenomenon. Rather than accept Zionism for what it is—the national liberation movement of the Jewish people—and attempt to compromise with it, they still maintain that the legitimacy in the Arab-Israeli conflict lies solely with the Arabs.

Actually, the tragedy of the situation is that it is a conflict between two national movements. Therefore, it is different from the Algerian conflict. And Zionism's tactical alliances with Western imperialism do not delegitimize it, just as the tactical alliance between the Arab revolt in 1917 and British imperialism did not delegitimize Arab nationalism.

Those of us in Israel who are profoundly disturbed by the policies of the Likud government—and who were not happy with all aspects of Labor policies either—believe that a true reconciliation can be achieved only if both peoples accept the legitimacy of the other side's claim. For this reason, we have always maintained that the conflict is between two national movements. For this reason, we have supported the partition of the British Mandate of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, believing that each national movement has a right to self-determination. For this reason, we think that Israel should not keep the occupied territories.

What we have been looking for in vain for so many years are Palestinian counterparts ready to accept the legitimacy of Israel without necessarily endorsing the policies of its government—just as we have been ready to accept the legitimacy of Palestinian Arab nationalism without necessarily endorsing the policies of the Palestine Liberation Organization. . . .

Many Israelis, when faced with the demand for negotiations with the Palestinians, answer that there is no Palestinian who is ready to negotiate with Israel on the basis of mutuality. Said and Al-Azm unfortunately bear out this view, and in doing so they become the best allies of Israeli extremists. They continue the intransigent line of the 1948 Palestinian nationalists who refused to accept the idea of partition and brought upon their people the tragedy of exile and defeat. What the Palestinians need—what we in Israel need—is the emergence of a Palestinian leadership ready to reach out to liberal public opinion in Israel and say clearly and bluntly, just as Anwar el-Sadat said: "We are ready to accept you. We disagree with you about borders, policies and Jerusalem—but we are ready to accept you on the basis of equality."

Shlomo Avineri

ADDING TO THE MYTHOLOGY

West Nyack, N.Y.

The Nation's special issue on "Myths About the Middle East" did much to add to the mythology. Edward Said's statement that Palestine was "won by Israel's more efficient political organization, supported by a ruthless military machine" is obviously nonsense. Israel was attacked by Arabs when it had no efficient political organization and no military strength at all. Victory came in spite of these weaknesses. Similarly, when Christopher Hitchens writes, in "Israel and the American Left," that Israel has become "the natural friend of the overdogs in America and elsewhere," and does not mention that the Arab sheiks are the big overdogs of the world and that the liberal-left is siding with them, *The Nation* adds to the current mythology.

One must also ask why Israel is viewed as intransigent while the Arab nations, which have not changed at all, are not. Why are those who have hinted they might change but still haven't viewed as "moderate"?

Finally, one must ask why it is that publications like *The Nation* devote so much space to the question of the Palestinian refugees and so little to the question of refugees elsewhere in the world. In fact, the Palestinian refugee problem is a minor part of the international refugee problem; many millions are starving, suffering and dying in other parts of the world under regimes that are totalitarian and totally repressive.

Jerry Steinman

SAID REPLIES

New York City

However one may understand or explain Zionism, there is still the problem that Shlomo Avineri finds hard to face: what Zionism did to the native Arab inhabitants of Palestine. It destroyed their society, drove out almost 800,000 of them, and has conducted unremitting war against them ever since. Jerry Steinman's happy ignorance is clearly untroubled by this. But the victims of Zionism find it difficult to sympathize with a movement that calls itself, to use Avineri's words, a "national liberation movement," given that it was transported from Europe and implemented in a territory already inhabited by native people, whose national identity was obliterated in the process. This alone renders inappropriate the superficial analogy drawn by Sadik Al-Azm between Zionism and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Like Avineri I believe that Jews have every right to self-determination as a nation. All I am against is that this should be done at the expense of another people. It helps to recall that at the time of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Zionist project in Palestine referred to itself as a colonization enterprise; it was carried out, as no one needs to be told, under the auspices of British imperial power, and it has since enjoyed the generous patronage of the United States.

All other national liberation movements in the world today identify Zionism with Western settler-colonialism. Zionist leaders have not pretended otherwise, as indeed how could they, given the large number of native "non-Jews" compelled to live inside what is

(*Continued on Page 431*)

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CONTENTS.

Volume 234, Number 14

LETTERS
416

EDITORIALS
415 A Lesson for El Salvador
417 Pushing "Pandora"
418 High-Tech Crunch
418 Fleet Street Blues — *Christopher Hitchens*
419 Footnotes From the Capital — *I. F. Stone*

ARTICLES
415 Reagan's Rule of Law—I: A Department Called Justice — *Herman Schwartz*
420 With Friends Like These . . . : Along the "Arc of Instability" — *Fred Halliday*
422 Heading for Another Iran?: Nigeria Creeps Toward Chaos — *Robert Irwin*
424 Building a Movement: Full Employment: Planning From the Bottom Up — *Bertram Gross and Stanley Moses*
429 Reagan's Rule of Law—II: A Politician Called Smith — *James A. Goodman*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
433 Ehrenburg and Grossman, eds.: The Black Book — *Terrence Des Pres*
436 Imperialism Without Splendor — *Fouad Ajami*
438 Connolly: The Unquiet Grave: A Word Cycle by Palinurus — *Stephen Koch*
440 Book Notes
441 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Randall Enos

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EDITORIALS.

Pushing 'Pandora'

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has been trotting his little State Department around the Far East, hawking—literally—his policies. In Japan, Weinberger paused to push a product that probably, for once, has the support of the grim soldier at the actual State Department. What he is peddling is shopworn now, having been gathering dust on the establishment's policy shelves for quite a while. But it is nothing less than a large increase in Japanese spending on the thing called "defense."

It's a beautiful idea, from Washington's point of view. If we could get Japan to jack up its arms spending from the present piddling $11.75 billion, less than 1 percent of its gross national product, there would be two splendid results. The first is that it would, in theory, beef up the anti-Soviet alliance by just that much. But much more significantly, it would divert energy from the buzzing beehive of Japanese industrialism into nonproductive channels and thus make it easier for our own industries to compete with theirs.

Naturally, this dual purpose is hidden behind an appropriately hypocritical screen. Weinberger told a Japanese audience that "we don't think that trade matters should be linked with defense." But from the other side of his mouth came the word that unless Tokyo adds substantially to its "self-defense forces" (which are all that the U.S.-dictated Japanese Constitution authorizes), an increasingly protectionist Congress might really crack down on imports from Nippon. Nice-cop Pentagon, tough-cop Congress. Will the sophisticated Japanese resist that old third degree?

Already, supernationalistic elements are straining against the humiliating restrictions implicit in Japan's status as a

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U.S. protectorate. A group called the Committee of 100, based in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, hawkishly works to revise the 1960 defense treaty with the United States. Washington is reluctant to fiddle with a pact that gives it access to bases a mere thousand kilometers from Vladivostok, but the pressures are rising fast on both sides of the Pacific.

Weinberger is telling the Japanese to prepare for nuclear war or face a trade war. Unfortunately, that's a powerful message in the Reagan era. As Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers put it in this journal's special issue on Japan [see "The Great Japan Debate," February 13], "national protectionism and expansionist militarism have often come as parts of one terrible package." That package is labeled "Pandora," and they're tearing at its wrappings in Washington and Tokyo.

High-Tech Crunch

As it becomes clear, even to Wall Street, that supply-side economics has the country in the throes of a severe recession-cum-depression, it is becoming chic to turn to the likes of Lester Thurow and Felix Rohatyn for answers. We will no doubt hear much in the future from these neo-liberal folk who seem to have seduced an entire wing of the Democratic Party.

Their new economic wisdom is quite simple: the President must take a leaf from our West German and Japanese competitors and engage in a bit more top-down planning. Specifically, the government, in partnership with Big Labor and Big Business, should systematically funnel investment capital into the high-technology sector of the economy—and write off those dying labor-intensive industries like textiles and shoes and even sizable chunks of the steel industry.

But are there really such panaceas? Those who think so ought to check out the inaugural issue of *Plant Shutdowns Monitor*, a newsletter published by the Data Center of Oakland, California, which reports that the economic crunch has now come to the high-tech sector.

Here are a few of the layoffs and plant shutdowns reported just for the month of January. The National Semiconductor Corporation suspended plant construction in Arlington, Texas, for eighteen months. Discovision Associates of Carson, California, moved its plant to Kofu, Japan, throwing some 250 employees out of work. Honeywell's Massachusetts plants laid off about 1,150 people from its information systems work force. Exxon Office Systems recently fired 465 workers in Orlando, Florida. A.T.&T. laid off 1,200 workers in Indianapolis. Western Airlines laid off 500 of its nonunion staff. And Mobil eliminated about 1,260 positions in its newly acquired subsidiary, Montgomery Ward.

No doubt a new national investment policy is needed—but it must be one premised on economic democracy. If we are seduced by the neo-liberal theorists, we could end up feeding a single segment of the economy at the expense of the vast majority of working Americans.

Fleet Street Blues

You cannot hope to bribe or twist,
Thank God, the British journalist.
But, seeing what the man will do
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.

That piece of doggerel is more familiar in Fleet Street than it is in the American press. Here the newspapers invariably refer to *The Times* of London as "august"—as if it were exempt from the routine vulgarity and reaction that characterize British journalism. Such illusions have been rudely dispelled recently. It turns out that *The Times* can be bought and sold like popcorn, and its editorial *équipe* reshuffled like a chorus line.

The Times has always been a deeply corrupt and misleading newspaper. Claiming to occupy a position above politics, it deceived its readers about the durability of the British Empire, endorsed World War I as a crusade, opposed the formation of trade unions and the Labor Party, clung to the gold standard and welcomed the advent of fascism. In his memoirs, Geoffrey Dawson, who edited the paper in the 1930s, told how he strove to exclude stories that would bias the British public against Hitler.

Reputations die hard, though, and *The Times* (despite being wrong about Suez, Vietnam, Ireland, India and Zimbabwe in more recent years) maintained its status as a respectable journal of record until relatively recently. History may date its final exposure from the time Rupert Murdoch became its proprietor last year.

Murdoch's takeover was opposed by most reputable people in Times Newspapers, Inc. because he already controlled too many British newspapers and because he had made squalid propaganda sheets out of every one of them. Still, the lure of cash proved too much for the ailing corporation, and after the ritual "editorial safeguards" had been "guaranteed," and Murdoch's former opponent, Harold Evans, made editor of *The Times*, skeptics were dismissed as doom-merchants.

Well, it didn't take long. Harold Evans has now been dismissed, replaced by a pliant Tory named Charles Douglas-Home (the nephew of the former Conservative Prime Minister). The paper has been moved a long way down-market and a long way to the right, which many people might think synonymous. The courageous features editor, Anthony Holden, resigned after telling television audiences that Murdoch had interfered consistently with editorial coverage of El Salvador and British monetary policy. Clearly, Murdoch will align his "respectable" papers with his yellow ones when it comes to rescuing Thatcher.

But the picture is not as clear-cut as might appear. It emerged that Harold Evans had sent memorandums to Murdoch regularly inviting his guidance on matters like the budget. Since the same Harold Evans was the principal rewriter of Henry Kissinger's deceitful memoir, *White House Years*, it probably would not have been too hard to convince him about El Salvador anyway. And he took $500,000 with him as compensation. The long-suffering

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staff of the paper, denied this kind of release from its obligations, is at least free from the need to pretend any longer that the paper is above the common herd.

In the same month that Evans was taking his leave, the editor of the *New Statesman*, Britain's only independent publication and its only mainstream socialist voice, was also summarily fired. This dismissal, however, was rather different and came as something of a surprise. Unsupported by any private owner or conglomerate, the paper has plowed a lone furrow since 1913. Since 1978 its editor, Bruce Page, had made a specialty of exposure journalism, regularly printing articles that embarrassed the security services and the other secretive and protected areas of the British establishment. (He took the job after falling out with Harold Evans for the latter's lack of courage on *The Sunday Times*.) This focus led, unhappily, to some decline in the paper's role as a medium of ideas, and some falling off in style and presentation.

These flaws furnished the excuse for Page's dismissal—at a board meeting where the question of his contract was not even on the agenda. As so often in Britain, it was a palace coup. A group of board members had joined the new center-right Social Democratic Party and decided that the magazine's uncompromising socialism and irreverence were "outdated." Applications are now invited for a new editor, and in a recent statement the board chairman made it plain that procedures of staff consultation and election, traditional at the *New Statesman*, would be overruled if they did not produce the right result.

All this makes a good metaphor for the decline of Britain and its once-vaunted institutions. The staff of the *New Statesman* can at least be expected to put up a fight against the collapse of Fleet Street into a one-party system. Little can be expected, however, from the staff of *The Times*. As Labor leader Aneurin Bevan once remarked, "There is no need to muzzle sheep." CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Christopher Hitchens, a contributing editor of The Nation, *has worked on the editorial staff of* The Times *and* The Sunday Times *of London and the* New Statesman.

Footnotes From the Capital

Washington, March 30

Celebrating Too Soon. The Reagan Administration's jubilation over the Salvadoran elections may prove premature. There is much we may never know about the balloting. How widespread was the practice (reported by Raymond Bonner in *The New York Times* of March 30) of giving voters receipts "to show to any authorities that might demand proof of participation"? Did fear play a part in the turnout?

With about a fourth of the votes counted, two things are clear. One is that the right-wing parties will have a majority in the new constituent assembly and can form a ruling coalition without the centrist Christian Democrats. The second is that if we take the 40 percent plurality for Duarte and allow another 15 or 20 percent for all the leftist parties excluded from the elections, then plainly there is a majority in the country that favors land and other reforms. That potential for peaceful change was blotted out by the junta's lopsided electoral process.

There may be a clue to the future in the exclusion of President Duarte from the U.S. Embassy luncheon for the leaders of the contending parties on the day after the elections, as reported in *The Washington Post* of March 30. Roberto d'Aubuisson, El Salvador's No. 1 Terrorist now being repackaged as the country's No. 1 Statesman, was present and exuberant. As leader of the second largest party (with 30 percent of the votes), he is the natural new *caudillo* for the army and a right-wing coalition. Duarte may face a second exile or worse. An intensified civil war lies down the road.

Won't Listen, Can't Hear. Judging by the streets of downtown Washington, one form of private enterprise stimulated by Reaganomics is beggary. For the first time in my more than forty years in Washington, panhandlers make regular appearances. They are white as well as black, and often ask for help in cultivated accents.

In little more than a year in office, Reagan (judging by the polls) seems to have lost majority support on every issue and in every class and sector of the country. In the White House itself, Reagan's entourage is so discontented that their mutterings have become more or less an open secret. They complain that he will not listen, and, because of a deafness he hates to acknowledge, sometimes may not hear, so that aides do not know just what does reach him, even from a staff too intimidated to speak frankly.

Of his inner circle, Secretary of Defense Weinberger seems to stir the most disquiet among what may be termed the Reagan conservatives. They are disturbed by spooky talk of a "super Mayaguez"—speculation that an international crisis and mobilization might provide the way out, sopping up unemployment and finally stimulating capital investment. Such, I am told, are among the bats in the White House belfry.

The Darkness Out of Begin's Zion. Since misguided Arabs have been deluded into thinking that autonomy should give them the right at least to pick their own mayors . . . and since the turbulence is spreading from the occupied territories to the Arabs in Israel itself . . . and since (as every visitor to the Middle East knows) it is not always easy to tell Jews from Arabs . . . the pacification process may soon require that Arabs wear special badges—perhaps a yellow crescent. Just for identification, of course. I. F. STONE

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ARTICLES.

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE . . .

Along the 'Arc Of Instability'

FRED HALLIDAY

The Reagan Administration may think it is in Central America that it is facing its most serious crises, but problems of equal intensity are smoldering in other parts of the world and may reach the flash point any day now. Many of them have existed for some time, but in just a year Ronald Reagan's foreign policy—based on providing support for right-wing autocrats and relying on military solutions for political problems—has injected them with new and escalating dangers.

Nowhere are the problems greater than in what might be called the "arc of instability" that sweeps from the Himalayas to North Africa. In more than half a dozen states the challenges to American-backed dictators are growing apace, and the conflicts almost certain to erupt there will have substantial implications for American foreign policy.

Pakistan. The United States has just given the government of Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq a commitment to supply $3.2 billion in military aid, further evidence that Washington regards Pakistan as a key weapon in its anti-Soviet strategy. Pakistan is seen as especially important for U.S. interests because it borders Afghanistan and provides bases for Afghan rebel forces, and because it offers facilities for U.S. fleets at the ports of Karachi and Gwadar. In addition, the English-speaking technical and officer corps of the Pakistani Army could be used to support any American military actions in the Middle East.

Yet General Zia is hardly the sort of dictator who gives Washington much comfort. He has had to resort to ferocious repression and martial law to stay in power, the latest evidence being a Pakistan Press Agency report in February that more than 2,700 people had been arrested in just two days in the provinces of Punjab and Sind. Amnesty International has found that the Pakistani Army uses torture as a regular part of its interrogations. Eight opposition parties, even after agreeing to work with General Zia in return for a slight easing of restrictions on them, remain suppressed. And a 350-person Advisory Council that Zia recently unveiled with much fanfare is widely regarded as a powerless body designed more to allay criticism in Washington than to respond seriously to the growing pressures inside the country.

Saudi Arabia. Though Reagan has declared he will not allow this country to go the way of Iran, it seems beset by the same sorts of problems. It is ruled by a tribal dictatorship of princes of the Saudi family, infamous for its corruption. Discontent is growing in a number of quarters, particularly among the Shiite Moslems in the eastern oil-producing province, who look to their co-religionists in Iran. Promises of a formal consultative assembly and other reforms have been unfulfilled. And the remaining legitimacy of the Saudi family, because it is perceived as cravenly pro-American, is being undermined by continued American support for Israel.

Bahrain. This two-island mini-state off the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia is important for the United States both as the banking center of the Middle East, replacing war-ravaged Beirut, and as a key outpost for the U.S. Navy. Yet its stability may be every bit as fragile as Lebanon's. It is the only Arab oil state with a strong underground trade-union movement, and here too a powerful pro-Iranian opposition has developed among the half of the population professing Shiite Islam. The opposition has turned to militance—the Parliament was dissolved in 1975 and there are no signs of its rebirth—and last December, after raids on private houses uncovered several caches of arms, dozens of Bahrainis were arrested by the security police.

North Yemen. Marxist-Leninist guerrillas of the National Democratic Front are now the dominant force in much of the southern and central regions of this long-beleaguered country. The army is weak, and it seems clear that part of it actually sides with the guerrillas. The United States made North Yemen a symbol of its confrontation with Soviet expansionism when it poured in military support during the border war with South Yemen, a Soviet ally, in 1979. But the Saudis stole much of the $390 million worth of equipment airlifted in, so there is very little wherewithal, short of an outright American intervention, for a successful campaign against the guerrillas.

Somalia. This has the most precarious government of all of America's allies along the arc. Washington is committed to providing $40 million in military aid to the regime of President Siad Barre and has pledged to build up naval facilities at the former Russian base at Berbera. But Siad has his hands full already. Guerrillas based in neighboring Ethiopia, operating under the umbrella of a Somalia Salvation Democratic Front, have increased their activity in the northern provinces, traditionally the most rebellious. Army mutinies and street riots erupted in the first two months of this year, and Siad does not seem to have sufficient popular support to be able to deal with such dissent. American diplomats have reportedly been in touch with dissident army

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam and an editorial associate of New Left Review *and* MERIP Reports. *He is the author of* Arabia Without Sultans: A Political Survey of Instability in the Arab World *(Vintage Books) and* Iran: Dictatorship and Development *(Penguin). He is a regular contributor to* The Nation.

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officers in an attempt to find a military alternative—a General Ky to replace a President Ngo—but so far without success.

Sudan. The United States has sent the Sudan the first installment of a $100 million military aid program—rushed through last September when President Gaafar al-Nimeiry faked a Libyan invasion after Egyptian President Sadat's death—but the country's real problems lie within and will not be solved by military aid. Students and Islamic fundamentalists have demonstrated in the streets, protesting price increases. Union discontent is rising, particularly among the railway workers and the municipal work force, where Communist strength is greatest. The non-Arab black population in the south, always at odds with the Arab government in Khartoum, has shown new signs of restiveness with the truce that ended the seventeen-year-old civil war in 1973. In Khartoum these days even government officials have been heard to speculate that there are only three options for the future—a left-wing coup, a popular uprising or a complete breakdown of government.

Egypt. Most Egyptians seem to have heaved a collective sigh of relief at the ignominious end of Anwar el-Sadat, favorite of Washington and Tel Aviv. But they are not likely to wait long for President Hosni Mubarak to come up with solutions to the horrendous problems of land shortages, unemployment and urban squalor he inherited from Sadat. There are signs that Reagan and Secretary of State Haig are backing away from Mubarak, fearing that he will not be so faithful a follower of Sadat's line, but American and European military and business ties to the interests Mubarak represents remain strong—and it is they, of course, that will be threatened if the underlying tensions in Egypt cannot be contained.

Tunisia. Long a French client, in recent years Tunisia has become a favored target of U.S. support, largely because it is an ally on the western flank of Washington's pet hate, Libya. But the success of the aging *combattant suprême*, Habib Bourguiba, in holding down his people may be coming to an end. The signs: when Tunisia's ambassador to the United States resigned late last year, he denounced the "megalomaniac rule" of the Bourguiba family; unemployment and inflation are rising fast, particularly affecting the 65 percent of the population under 25; in February, amid signs of growing support for the national trade-union federation, there were strikes by railway workers, automobile workers and public school teachers. Bourguiba did consent to hold elections last November, but he refused to lift his bans on the two potentially threatening Islamic parties and he so controlled the election process that, somehow, all 136 seats in the legislature went to his party.

Morocco. The United States has just been granted transit facilities at two of the four bases it evacuated in 1978, it has been allowed to train subversive anti-Angolan forces on Moroccan soil, and it is holding out the promise of increased aid for King Hassan II's war against the Polisario Front. But the toll of this Sahara war, coupled with apparently intractable domestic problems, threatens to send Hassan down the road the Shah was forced to travel. Popular discontent has spilled into the streets: on one day alone last June, it has been reported, up to 600 people were killed in riots in Casablanca. An undetermined but large number of opposition supporters have been arrested and jailed. The military regime struggles to maintain control, although it is backed into a corner and has few options.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Washington supported right-wing regimes around the world on the ground that strategic priorities in its war against the Soviet Union outweighed the internal miseries that might exist in those countries. The results of this support were the revolutions in Cuba and Ethiopia, Iran and Nicaragua. The born-again imperialists of the Reagan Administration seem to be nostalgic for those balmy days. It looks as if they may be getting the same results. □

DRAWINGS BY RANDALL ENOS

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HEADING FOR ANOTHER IRAN?

Nigeria Creeps Toward Chaos

ROBERT IRWIN

The image of Nigeria today in the American press is of a rich, powerful, liberal, promising nation. The wealthiest and most populous nation on the African continent, it has a democratic form of government with a presidential system, separation of powers and a bill of rights strikingly similar to ours. It has been the second largest supplier of petroleum to the United States and, far away from the tensions of the Persian Gulf, it is regarded as our most secure source of foreign oil.

To be sure, the media do recognize some of the obvious problems: persistent ethnic rivalries, bureaucratic red tape, crime, congestion and inflation. But the emphasis tends to be on the success of an infant democracy in Nigeria, confronting the obstacles, defying the odds. "Politics in Nigeria is alive and kicking," *New York Times* reporter Pranay Gupte wrote in *The Atlantic* last year. *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny also found Nigeria's democracy resilient: "Despite all the tribal conflicts, despite all the complaining and backbiting," he reported, there was a nearly universal faith among Nigerians in the success of their new Constitution and not a "hint of threats to overthrow the new regime." "Creeping democracy" was the way *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis succinctly summarized the "encouraging" signs of an emerging consensus.

In fact, as maneuvering begins for the national elections seventeen months from now, what Nigerian democracy is creeping toward is chaos. The evidence of deep trouble is mounting rapidly. Leaders of opposition parties have protested the ruling party's brazen abuse of federal control over the police and mass media. Crises erupted last summer in two states governed by a radical opposition party—in one, the governor was impeached and removed from office, in the other, half the government buildings were burned to the ground in a thunderous riot. A working accord between the ruling party and its ally collapsed amid bitter recriminations. And the leader of the largest opposition party has warned that if electronic voting machines are used in the 1983 elections, he will direct his followers to smash them in order to prevent massive fraud.

Picture a corrupt and oppressive government, pursuing a development strategy which mainly benefits the rich, enthusiastically supported by the United States, in a nation which is one of America's largest suppliers of oil. Picture as well a radical movement challenging that government, bitterly resentful of American economic and political involvement in it, borne on a surging wave of Islamic fundamentalism. The picture, which fairly describes Iran in 1978, might also fit Nigeria in a few years' time.

Political turbulence is hardly new to Nigeria. Ethnic and regional conflict plagued the first republic from independence in 1960 to its fall in 1966, climaxing in the bloody struggle over Biafran secession that lasted two and a half years and cost perhaps a million lives. But ethnic conflict is not the cause of Nigeria's current troubles. The present crisis is rooted in a different nemesis: corruption.

Corruption has been a central problem in modern Nigerian politics from the start. It seems to riddle each new regime and slowly sap its legitimacy until the people demand a change. And with each new regime, it seems to increase in scale.

Though President Shehu Shagari is not generally considered to be personally implicated, charges of corruption have dogged a number of the top ministers and advisers of his party, the National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N.). The corruption, according to these charges, goes far beyond the 10 percent routinely paid to government officials at all levels who award contracts. It includes the gross inflation of contracts awarded to top party supporters for construction of the new federal capital at Abuja, a project in which billions of dollars are up for grabs. It covers the selling of lucrative import licenses for tens, some say hundreds, of thousands of dollars. It involves the massive hoarding of rice by those privileged to acquire rice-import licenses, driving up retail prices by as much as six times and angering urban residents, whose diets have become increasingly dependent on imported rice.

Pervasive corruption has been an important factor in the widening gap between rich and poor in Nigeria. Increasingly, displays of opulence and wealth by the nouveau riche are sharply juxtaposed against the squalor of urban life. In the narrow streets of the burgeoning cities, Mercedes Benzes inch through traffic jams past open sewers, tin shacks and pyramids of trash. Businessmen and politicians in silk suits, Gucci shoes and imported lace stride past the hawkers, the beggars and the hangers-on. Inexorably, envy and resentment are building within the ominous armies of unemployed youths in the cities, evidenced by the rising rates of urban crime and violence.

Opposition leaders point to an incident last May as a classic example of the arrogance and contempt for the masses of much of the Nigerian upper class. At the very time when national unions were striking for a minimum wage of $500 a month—which the government flatly rejected as beyond its means—thirteen top N.P.N. politicians and businessmen gathered to dedicate and raise funds for the party's new $3 million headquarters. In less than thirty minutes, they had raised $8 million among themselves; one fifth of that sum was donated by Chief M.K.O. Abiola, chairman of I.T.T. Nigeria and reputedly one of the country's wealthiest men.

Robert Irwin is the pseudonym of a university professor who specializes in Third World politics. He has visited Nigeria many times in the last few years.

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That incident, and the scale of political corruption that is believed to have made it possible, indicates the kind of resources the N.P.N. has had at its disposal in solidifying power in the last two years. It has even been able to build a working majority in the ninety-five-member Senate, although it formally controls only thirty-six seats, by inducing more than a dozen senators nominally affiliated with other parties to vote consistently along the N.P.N. line—in effect, to defect to the ruling party. Naturally, the defecting senators explain their actions by stressing the need for national unity and cooperation among parties. Their parties bluntly charge they have been bought. Such charges are difficult to prove, but many "cooperative" legislators in the House and Senate have of late been visibly blessed with manifestations of personal wealth and government favor that are not otherwise easily explainable. Moreover, attempts at bribery do come to light. One senator told his party leader that he had been offered the equivalent of $80,000 by an N.P.N. colleague to abandon his party's stand and vote with the government on a crucial revenue allocation bill then bottled up in a joint committee. His leader advised him to try to get the offer on tape. The N.P.N. man did not return.

But the N.P.N. government has more than the carrot of enormous wealth at its disposal; it also has the stick of federal power. Opposition leaders, with increasing alarm, have charged that the N.P.N. manipulates the government-controlled television network and the national police force to its own advantage. It is certainly true that the N.P.N. gets the greatest and most favorable coverage on the evening news and that it has even dared to use the national network to jam an opposition channel in Lagos State, despite a court injunction. Its control over the police is less visible, but numerous eyewitnesses have testified that the police did nothing to stop the pro-N.P.N. rioters who burned down government buildings in Kano last July. After opposition charges of partisanship were leveled, the Inspector General of police took out full-page advertisements to warn that "the law shall descend" on those who have "been undermining the security of the nation by deliberately publishing embarrassing, inciting and seditious news items against the police." Within a month of the statement, several opposition editors had been arrested.

In the face of all this, opposition forces are now moving toward some kind of political union in 1983. Despite their different ideological orientations, policy priorities and ethnic and regional bases, they share an overriding fear—that unless the N.P.N. is turned out of office, basic democratic freedoms may erode irretrievably, and unless they achieve unification, the formidable political and financial muscle of the N.P.N. cannot be overcome.

Nowhere is this cleavage between the N.P.N. and the opposition clearer than in the sprawling northern states; nowhere have the tensions wracking Nigerian society in the last few years been more acute. On one hand is the hereditary feudal aristocracy, allied with wealthy business and professional elites in the rest of the country through the N.P.N. On the other is the younger intellectual and professional class, which, together with the Moslem *mallams*, has created and nurtured the People's Redemption Party (P.R.P.) in alliance with other opposition parties in the north.

The P.R.P. has been trying to mobilize support among the peasantry and the growing ranks of urban workers and unemployed for its pledge to build "a new social order." P.R.P. administrations in Kaduna and Kano States have pressed policies to try to realize this pledge: abolishing oppressive taxes, democratizing local governments, spreading literacy and political awareness among the peasants, diffusing social services to the countryside and preparing a plan for land reform.

Not surprisingly, the elite has fought back. In Kaduna, for example, the N.P.N. attempted to use its two-thirds control of the State House of Assembly to block the initiatives of Governor Balarabe Musa, repeatedly rejecting his nominations and legislative proposals. Last May, as the Governor proceeded with his initiatives in defiance of the legislature, N.P.N. leaders introduced impeachment charges, and within a few weeks impeached, tried and removed him from office in a nakedly partisan exercise that steamrolled over a number of legal challenges.

Less than a month later, the battle came to Kano, Nigeria's third largest—and most volatile—city. The N.P.N. has regarded Kano State as a vexing political problem since the P.R.P.'s resounding victory there three years ago, but it has not been able to block the programs of Governor Mohammed Abubakar Rimi. Last July, the Governor gracelessly asserted his legal authority over the revered traditional ruler of the city, the Emir of Kano, in a public letter implying the Emir's imminent dethronement. It was a serious political miscalculation. Under the pretext of defending the Emir, opponents of the Governor staged the riot that ended with the burning of more than half of the state government buildings and the death of the Governor's political adviser, who was killed in the fire. Supporters of the Governor are convinced the riot was organized by the N.P.N. and its allies in the north.

The Kano riot understandably triggered renewed fear and alarm among the opposition parties, and many activists are urging that the parties merge for the 1983 elections. At the same time, the riot has dimmed considerably the faith of radical forces in the north that serious change is possible through the democratic process.

Radicals in the P.R.P., along with many other opposition leaders and neutral observers, are increasingly skeptical that the 1983 elections will be held. Some predict that a descent into political violence and confusion will bring back the military. Others think that the N.P.N., threatened with defeat by a progressive opposition front, will stage a preemptive military coup. Significantly, few opposition leaders expect the government to administer a free and fair election. And if the path to peaceful, democratic change is blocked, they warn, the younger radicals may be prepared to take up arms.

The most destabilizing contradiction in Nigeria today

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may be this: its people will not permit authoritarian rule, and its politicians will not permit democratic rule. In the cross fire between these two, no form of authority is stable.

Unless the perilous passage to the 1983 elections can be successfully negotiated, a prolonged period of political turmoil lies ahead in Nigeria. This would have profound consequences for nations that have come to depend on its oil and its moderation—especially the United States, whose involvement in the Nigerian economy, already considerable, is rapidly growing.

As Nigeria's economy becomes more and more oriented to foreign capital and large-scale private enterprise, American businesses and banks are responding to its invitation to invest. Several American banks are considering returning to Nigeria, including Chemical Bank, Irving Trust and Citibank, which pulled out of the country some years ago in response to an "Indigenization Decree" demanding that Nigeria be given equity participation in foreign enterprises.

The door is especially wide open for U.S. agribusinesses, whose participation in Nigeria's agricultural development is being promoted by the recently established Joint Agricultural Consultative Committee. This committee has become the leading sponsor of economic ties between the two countries, and was warmly praised by the vice presidents of both nations when they completed the sixth round of annual bilateral talks in Washington last September. Chaired by former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, the American section includes some of this country's biggest and most powerful agribusinesses, including Allis-Chalmers, Archer Daniels Midland, Carnation International, F.M.C. International and Ralston-Purina Company, as well as such other giants as Coca-Cola, Ford Motor Company and Occidental Petroleum.

These companies are hardly interested in the small-scale investments that can raise the productivity and income of small- and middle-level farmers, the vast majority of Nigeria's farming population. Their potential profits lie in making Nigerian agriculture over in the image of U.S. agribusiness—large-scale and capital-intensive. This strategy, which the Shagari administration seems to accept, can only further concentrate the ownership of land and force more peasants to migrate to the cities. Both of these developments would have explosive implications for Nigerian politics, especially in the north.

Obviously, the United States has not perceived this danger. We remain blind to the deep, structural forces motivating political and social change in Nigeria. As the tension escalates between what the P.R.P. describes as the "forces of privilege" and the "forces of change," the United States may again be forced to choose between a corrupt regime closely allied with foreign capital and angry popular forces that are not. This would be a painful decision for the United States, but would give it the opportunity to make the rational, the decent choice. Not the one it made in Iran. □

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Full Employment: Planning From The Bottom Up

BERTRAM GROSS AND STANLEY MOSES

Facing a worsening recession in the short run and the prospect of a continuing and systemic increase in unemployment in the long, a loose network of community, labor, minority, academic and peace activists has responded with an innovative economic proposal called "locally based national planning." Led by Democratic Representative John Conyers of Michigan, the network has devised a plan by which people in neighborhoods and local governments could formulate their own full-employment goals and the means by which they could eventually be met.

The emphasis in this planning is to be on employment in such traditional but neglected sectors as agriculture, mining, transportation, construction and natural resources; in such badly needed services as education, health and scientific research; and in such new industries as energy conservation, waste recycling and equipment repair. High-priority projects would be developed to employ unused labor in meeting these needs. Numerical job goals would be debated and established in townships, cities, counties and states—a target of perhaps 260,000 new jobs for the Detroit area, for example—and these would provide the framework for short- and long-term programs by private and nonprofit as well as public employers. This planning would also focus on developing strategies to help communities deal with plant closings.

Though the inspiration for such planning would come from the bottom, the Federal government would also have a vital role. It would initiate plans of national and transnational scope, help establish and promote local groups, assure citizen participation as a condition for Federal grants, act as umpire or coordinator where needed and provide data, technical assistance and money for the grass-roots process. The Federal government would focus on "depression areas" where unemployment is deeply entrenched. Under legislative mandate, it would work toward establishing an economic and social Bill of Rights—not only the right to a job but the right to decent wages, to protection against monopoly and to decent housing, health care, social security and education.

Bertram Gross, Distinguished Professor in the department of urban affairs at Hunter College, was involved in the drafting of the full employment acts of 1946 and 1978. Stanley Moses was the editor of Planning for Full Employment, *the March 1975 issue of* The Annals.

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Conyers and his colleagues have tied their proposal to two other innovative steps they see as complementary. The first is to promote a shift from military to civilian production in order to break the traditional connection between cold-war militarism and a full-employment economy; this could be accomplished by channeling a portion of Defense Department allocations through national, regional and local development banks. The second is to establish public control over private price-setting, along with an incomes policy covering interest rates, dividends and executive salaries as well as wages.

Of course the Conyers program does not face all that happy a future in the current political climate. But Conyers argues that it can be a valuable vehicle for building a movement that will keep in mind the goal of full employment and the structural changes that must be made in American society. "Without such a movement," he maintains, "good full-employment legislation could hardly be enacted, and even weakened legislation—as with the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1978—would never be enforced."

One practical difficulty in launching this movement is the deep cynicism which has been engendered in progressive circles by past experiences with "full-employment" legislation: in every Democratic administration since World War II, employment policy has been the tail on the kite of an ever-expanding military economy. Nor has the record of liberal/labor leaders on this issue done much to encourage support—most of those leaders wrung their hands publicly and sat on them privately while Jimmy Carter's entourage and the big-business lobby eviscerated the Humphrey-Hawkins bill as it went through the Congressional meat grinder.

Another difficulty in raising support for such a movement is the tendency of many liberal/labor leaders to counter the Reagan onslaught on social programs by proposing a restoration of parts of the old Carter agenda—even though they themselves had attacked that agenda as deficient when it was first presented. The justification for this, expressed by some members of the Congressional Black Caucus, is that "we have to get a little something for our people now. We can't answer their desperation with promises of around-the-corner." Not enough people in Congress yet realize that when you ask for a small slice, you get nothing—or a few crumbs; when you ask for a whole loaf, you might get some slices.

Moreover, the fact is that the money for a whole-loaf employment program is available right now. Federal, state and local governments together could finance all of most of the Conyers package with just three steps: (*1*) controlling and redirecting the employee pension funds now largely in the hands of self-serving banking cliques; (*2*) rechanneling the huge tax subsidies now promoting capital flight, merger-mania, "condo-mania" and job automation; and (*3*) reallocating the part of the Federal budget that goes to military waste and overkill. It is not hard to see that this kind of progressive federalism would be far more useful to middle- and low-income America than the "old feudalism" Reagan proposes.

A final difficulty on the road to locally based employment planning is the entrenched opposition of many who should know better to bottom-up activism of any kind. Many liberal and even some radical enthusiasts of "democratic planning" are committed to top-down, elitist decision-making by technocrats, bureaucrats and politicos in Washington. Many unions are hesitant to activate their locals. City and state budget and planning agencies—and even university planning schools—are bogged down in their business-as-usual practices and resist moves for genuine, rather than ritualistic, citizen participation.

At the moment, as the recession deepens, local employment initiatives are growing, many of them using the novel combination of political mobilization and participatory legislation-drafting. Full-employment planning measures, local as well as national, are seen as serious instruments of grass-roots coalition-building—not merely to be used by 1984 Presidential candidates (and the Democratic Party platform) as an update of the glib "jobs for all" promises used in 1976 to pay lip service to Humphrey-Hawkins. □

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Justice

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

Michael Uhlmann, assistant to the President for civil rights policy development. Last December he told a reporter that the Administration really was enforcing the law of the land—"unless you call all of the decisions of the Supreme Court the law of the land."

Civil Rights

The most notorious examples of the Justice Department's indifference to legal norms and duties are to be found in civil rights cases, which are the special province of its Civil Rights Division. The unit was created in 1939 by Attorney General Frank Murphy because he believed that "in a democracy an important function of the law-enforcement branch of government is the aggressive protection of fundamental rights inherent in a free people." Smith, however, has a very different conception: as he put it in a speech in October, the department should "play an active role in effectuating the principles upon which Ronald Reagan campaigned." And in the year that he has been Attorney General, the department has played a very "active role" indeed, particularly in those civil rights cases having to do with education and employment.

Take the Justice Department's notorious zigzags on tax exemptions for racially discriminatory schools. To all but the willfully indifferent, the law, as laid down by two Courts of Appeals and affirmed by the Supreme Court, has been clear for more than eleven years: the Internal Revenue Service may not grant tax-exempt "charity" status to private schools that discriminate racially, even if they have a religious affiliation. The department had originally gone before the Supreme Court agreeing with this law, to argue against two schools that practiced racial discrimination and had been denied tax exemptions. But then Trent Lott, a Republican Congressman from Mississippi, raised the issue with President Reagan and reminded him that he had opposed this law on the campaign trail. Thereupon the department reversed its stand. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, overriding the objections of the Solicitor General, top Treasury officials and others in his own department, switched to a defense of the racist schools. The subsequent frenetic maneuvering by the department in response to a storm of protest ended appropriately last month when the Supreme Court, having received the government's brief arguing for the schools, called also for the original government brief upholding the I.R.S.

In school desegregation cases as well it appears that the department simply does not consider "the decisions of the Supreme Court the law of the land." In the quarter-century since *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, it has been firmly established that: (*1*) "separate but equal" is no longer acceptable; (*2*) voluntary transfer plans do not achieve desegregation; (*3*) busing must be used if other measures don't work; and (*4*) *all* schools in a system will usually have to be desegregated if a substantial number are shown to have been segregated (the "*Keyes* presumption"). Assistant Attorney General Reynolds doesn't approve. "We are not going to compel children who don't choose to have an integrated education to have one," he said last November. He will not ask for involuntary busing. He will not invoke the *Keyes* presumption, which he considers "unfair" even though the Supreme Court adopted it almost unanimously.

This will make it nearly impossible for the department either to prove widespread school segregation or to remedy the evil where it exists. Instead, Reynolds says, it will try to insure that segregated blacks are provided equal access to resources and staff—a return to "separate but equal" in a particularly cynical version, given this Administration's deep cuts in school aid.

All this new policy has already had an effect. In a case concerning Chicago, whose schools are severely segregated and whose government has tenaciously fought desegregation efforts for more than twenty years, the department abruptly reversed itself last August when Reynolds entered the case and accepted a settlement relying on voluntary transfers and permitting lengthy delays. In higher education cases in Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina, the department has also reversed itself and accepted plans that require merely some upgrading of black institutions and allow a substantial amount of program duplication ("separate but equal" again). In a Texas case, a district court had ordered a mandatory remedy but Reynolds has offered to accept a voluntary program if the school system doesn't appeal. And in a Seattle case currently before the Supreme Court, the department performed still another turnabout: after it had joined in successfully challenging a referendum voiding a school desegregation plan, it caved in to heavy pressure from Washington State officials and ended up defending the referendum.

As with education, so with employment. From its creation in 1969 until last year, the department's Employment Section has found that the most successful weapon in the battle against employment discrimination has been class relief, with goals and timetables for future hiring patterns. This remedy has been approved by virtually every appellate Federal court since the late 1960s because, as one court concluded, "no other method was available for affording appropriate relief." Employers and employees have also been encouraged to adopt voluntary affirmative action programs, and these efforts were approved by the Supreme Court in the *Weber* case three years ago.

Despite this judicial approval, the department will no longer use these methods. From now on, it will request a remedy only for specific, identified victims, not for a class, and will set goals and timetables only for recruiting, not for hiring. Despite many years of experience and law to the contrary, Reynolds claims that these remedies are adequate and that the Constitution's "color-blind ideal of equal opportunity for all" prohibits anything more. "Title VII mandates color-blindness in employment decisions," he told a

Herman Schwartz, former chief counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, is a professor of law at American University in Washington, D.C.

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lawyers' group last October—omitting any reference in his ten-page speech to the *Weber* case, which held exactly the opposite. But then he considers the *Weber* case "wrongly decided" and is looking for an opportunity to reverse it as soon as possible.

Reynolds has gone farther afield. He is trying to get the Department of Labor to abandon its twelve-year-old policy of insisting on hiring goals and timetables as a condition of receiving Federal contracts. And he has undercut the efforts of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to force other Federal agencies to develop affirmative action plans in compliance with the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act.

The Attack on the Courts

Perhaps the most basic legal principle of all is the understanding that courts exist to protect individual rights, even where controversial social and philosophical issues are involved. In our constitutional order there is a specific preference for liberty, and the task of promoting it is peculiarly the province of the courts.

This fundamental understanding is now under attack by the far right. More than thirty bills have been introduced in this session of Congress which, though they deal with specific court decisions on busing, school prayer and abortion, are important largely because they challenge the Federal courts' most essential power: their power to decide. These bills would eliminate the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in a wide variety of issues and make it impossible to apply the law and the Constitution to those issues.

And where has the Attorney General been in this controversy? He has not only refused to condemn these assaults on the courts' authority and independence, he has encouraged the bills' supporters by repeatedly attacking the Federal courts for "unjustified intrusion" into legislative affairs, "trespassing" and a tendency "to arrogate to themselves functions reserved to the legislative branch or the states." In a speech this January he even went so far as to warn the courts they had better heed "the groundswell of conservatism evidenced by the 1980 election."

The Smith line is uninformed, to put it charitably. Federal courts have not taken an activist position because they have been power-hungry. Most Federal judges are conservative or centrist lawyers who got where they are by working cautiously within the legal and political establishments, usually with as little interest as other professionals in prison conditions, segregated schools, mental institutions, the handicapped and the like. Many of the greatest of them—Earl Warren, Frank Johnson, Elbert Tuttle, John Minor Wisdom—had impeccable Republican credentials. As judges, they have reluctantly intervened only because horrible or blatantly unconstitutional conditions were brought to their attention and the officials responsible for these conditions were doing nothing to improve them.

If Federal courts are stripped of their jurisdiction or choose to resume their old "hands-off" attitude under New Right pressure, then once again the evils of the land will fester. That's the way it used to be—and if William French Smith has his way, that's the way it will be again.

Appointments

During the Carter Administration, the Justice Department made an effort to transform the Federal bench from a white male club into a more diverse and representative group. To that end it issued executive orders on judicial qualifications which, among other things, required appointees to show a commitment to equal justice. Under Attorney General Smith, those executive orders have been withdrawn. In fact, Deputy Attorney General Edward Schmults told a luncheon group last June that the department no longer saw any need to seek out minorities and women for judicial office. That seems to be official policy: to date, there have been only four women and one black (and no Hispanics) among its sixty court nominees. (One highly qualified woman recommended by the department for a Court of Appeals slot, Judith Whittaker, was abandoned after right-wing Missouri Republicans objected to her support for the Equal Rights Amendment.)

Business Regulation

The Reagan Justice Department's ideology also includes the kind of benevolent concern for business that has not been seen in Washington since the days of Calvin Coolidge.

Take for a start its policies on antitrust law. William F. Baxter, Assistant Attorney General of the Antitrust Division, is a zealous votary of the conservative theories associated with the University of Chicago, which advocate the relaxation of antitrust laws. He is not troubled by bigness or economic concentration and betrays no interest in small business; indeed, he thinks, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, that big firms are more efficient. He says that businessmen usually act rationally and that this

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"generally results in favorable outcomes that shouldn't be interfered with."

This economic theology is not only a latter-day version of the long-discredited "invisible hand" theory of the marketplace, it also rests on a confidence in the beneficent and rational businessman that is totally misplaced. More important, however, it has not been adopted by Congress or the courts.

For example, it is Baxter's view that large "vertical" mergers—those between, say, manufacturers and their suppliers or distributors—are not harmful. Since 1950, however, Congress and the courts have unambiguously condemned such mergers if they involve substantial shares of the market, and there have been relatively few of them in recent years. It is Baxter's view that most mergers result in efficiencies—never mind how this is to be domonstrated—and should therefore be permitted. The Supreme Court has explicitly said many times, however, that if a merger has anticompetitive consequences, any efficiencies are irrelevant. It is Baxter's view that price-fixing agreements between a supplier and a retailer should not be prosecuted. The Supreme Court, however, has uniformly condemned such arrangements since 1911, most recently in 1980.

To all of this, Baxter's answer is that the Supreme Court decisions are "rubbish," "wacko," "ludicrous," "absurdly restrictive," "not very well informed" and "misguided." His aim is allegedly to "instruct" the courts and the bar on what the law should be. "It's perfectly true that I am disregarding some of the things that the Supreme Court and other courts have from time to time said about the antitrust laws," he admitted to *The Wall Street Journal*, "just as the courts themselves have frequently and inevitably disregarded what prior courts have said about the antitrust laws."

Baxter here seems to regard himself as at least the equivalent of a court, not just as an enforcement official—hardly the attitude one expects from someone whose boss constantly criticizes others for usurping power. He seems quite indifferent to the fact that as an official of the executive branch he is not there to make or rewrite law, not at liberty to "instruct" the courts and the bar on his own economic theory, not entitled to "disregard what prior courts have said." He has taken an oath to enforce the law—not to rewrite it.

All this Baxter rhetoric has naturally created a great deal of confusion among lawyers, flying as it does in the face of Supreme Court precedents. Its effects, however, are more than rhetorical. Antitrust enforcement depends heavily on private lawyers telling their clients that certain things cannot be done for fear of government prosecution and steep penalties. The Baxter statements will most likely change that counseling and tempt corporations into practices and mergers that would never have been tried before he took office—as, for example, Mobil's attempted acquisitions of Conoco and Marathon.

Criminal Jurisdiction

But if the Justice Department is benevolent toward businesspeople who may be violating the law, it is positively tender toward those who are caught, kinder still to those who are serving time.

Six years ago, Congress put parole-granting authority in an agency administratively under the Attorney General but "independent of the Department of Justice for decision-making purposes"—the idea being, as one Congressman put it, to keep it from being "susceptible to political whims and budgetary contents." This Administration, however, isn't happy with that arrangement. Why? As Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani put it in an interview with *The Los Angeles Times*, "the present Parole Commission has a different philosophy than the Reagan Administration. . . . [The commission is] heavily weighted against parole eligibility for white collar offenders." (Or, as another Justice Department official said: "It's quite simple—there was an election a year ago.") So the Administration has gone ahead and tried to stack the commission with six Republicans obviously more sympathetic to crooked businessmen.

The first target of the purge was Oliver J. Keller, a distinguished penologist. On December 16, 1981, a Justice Department official telephoned Keller and told him that Reagan planned to remove him because "the President wants his own people on the commission." Keller refused to budge—he was serving a six-year term on the board that still had over two years to go—and sued the government. The lawsuit is now pending, but regardless of the outcome it is clear that the attempt to remove Keller violates both the statutorily created independence of the parole board and basic constitutional principles about the relationship of the President to administrative agencies. Ever since F.D.R.'s unsuccessful attempt to fire a Federal Trade Commission member in the 1930s, the courts have consistently ruled that members of such independent agencies who have fixed terms can be removed only for misconduct. The Reagan effort was so crude that Cameron Batjer, the Administration's own appointee as the chairman of the Parole Commission, resigned his chairmanship in anger and notified a House committee that he deplored the "politicizing of the Commission."

The Justice Department's special concern for businesspeople who run afoul of the law is also reflected in its handling of the McDonnell Douglas foreign bribery case.

In November 1979, a grand jury indicted the company, three high-level officers and one employee for paying bribes to get Pakistan to buy $60 million worth of DC-10s. A few months after Smith became Attorney General, Senator John Danforth, Republican of Missouri, contacted the department after McDonnell Douglas's general counsel purportedly intervened; the corporation is based in St. Louis, Danforth's brother is on the board of directors, and members of the McDonnell family and top corporate executives have always contributed to Danforth's campaigns, including $12,000 in contributions and pledges at about this time. Associate Attorney General Giuliani promptly arranged a private meeting with corporation officers in May, to which the Criminal Division lawyers on the case were not invited.

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(Giuliani maintains he didn't know the purpose of the meeting, but Danforth says he told Giuliani that a criminal case was involved and that the company's lawyers had asked that the Criminal Division counsel be excluded.) On September 8, 1981, charges against the individual defendants were dropped in return for a hand-tapping $55,000 fine against the corporation itself, petty cash for this huge company that had spent millions on bribes. Criminal Division career lawyers were outraged, since it is widely agreed that deterrence is very difficult without sanctions against individual offenders; Senator William Proxmire called the department's behavior "disgraceful."

Politicizing the Department

The McDonnell Douglas incident illustrates another disquieting aspect of the Smith Justice Department: the frequent intervention of powerful political figures in the department's enforcement actions and the subsequent relaxation of those efforts.

Politicians have always felt entitled to talk to the Justice Department about their constituents' problems, but there has traditionally been an understood line between just "presenting information" and exerting improper influence. That line has been obliterated by the Reagan Administration. In case after case—the details are in a recent report by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights called "Without Justice"—the Reagan Justice Department has succumbed to political influence, particularly in the civil rights area.

Take a few examples. Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton induced Attorney General Smith to amend a voting rights complaint the department had already filed, deleting a reference to "white supremacy" that Denton found offensive. Mississippi Senator Thad Cochran and Representative Trent Lott persuaded the department to withdraw its five-year-old objection to the annexation of a heavily white area by the city of Jackson, a move that would have diluted the black vote. Senator Strom Thurmond pressured the department into not joining a voting rights suit against Edgefield County, South Carolina, where blacks have never won an elective office even though they make up half the population—and where the Senator himself was born. The settlement in the North Carolina case that permits the continuation of a segregated college system followed an intercession by Senator Jesse Helms. In the Seattle school case, pressure from state officials was augmented by a pointed reminder to Smith from former White House political strategist Lyn Nofziger that the state Attorney General was "a long-time Reagan worker and supporter." Department positions in Mississippi and Texas prison cases have been altered under pressure from Republican politicos, including the ubiquitous Trent Lott.

A new Administration is entitled to new policies and priorities—that, after all, is what elections are all about. But the changes must be within the framework of established law, as laid down by Congress and the courts. In case after case—and the examples gathered here may be just the tip of the iceberg—William French Smith and the department have demonstrated that they respect few legal or constitutional constraints on their efforts to promote the anti-civil rights and pro-business principles on which Ronald Reagan campaigned. The kinds of internalized limits one would expect from lawyers who have taken an oath to defend the Constitution are simply missing.

In the summer of 1964, someone wrote on the wall of a civil rights office in Jackson, Mississippi: "There is a town in Mississippi called Liberty, there is a department in Washington called Justice." Seems like old times. □

REAGAN'S RULE OF LAW—II

A Politician Called Smith

JAMES A. GOODMAN

In the person of William French Smith, President Reagan has found an ideologically compatible and politically shrewd Attorney General who has been able to reshape the Justice Department to fit the Reagan mold. Law has become a vehicle for effectuating Reagan's policies, with Smith constantly testing, challenging—and sometimes even denigrating—statutes and judicial precedent.

Smith the politician is willing to hedge and scheme for a Reagan cause, however dubious its merit. Last summer, the Justice Department spearheaded the Administration's public relations drive to mollify Congressional critics of a draft of the executive order regulating U.S. intelligence activity. As it turned out, Smith was unable to hoodwink the Congressional intelligence committees and backed off when Congress complained that the draft gave the Central Intelligence Agency a virtual blank check to operate domestically. Nevertheless, the version of the executive order he finally did formulate, which was signed by Reagan in December, does give the C.I.A. a clear role in domestic affairs, including permission to carry out covert operations on U.S. soil. (Not surprising, then, that Smith has also gone on record as favoring a blanket exemption for the C.I.A. from the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act—the first Attorney General in the fifteen years of the act to take such a stand.)

Smith the ideologue has shown himself to be the enemy of any right not unequivocally spelled out in law—and some that are. During the past year, he rescinded a 1977 directive that had required release of information requested under the F.O.I.A. unless its disclosure would cause "demonstrable harm." He also revoked a 1980 decree placing limits on the

James A. Goodman is the Washington, D.C., representative of the Committee for Public Justice, a national civil liberties organization that publishes the Justice Watch *newsletter.*

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government's use of the censorship powers granted by the Supreme Court's *Snepp* decision. He has dropped from the Justice Department's judicial selection criteria the recommendation that nominees to the Federal bench possess a "demonstrated commitment to equal justice." And he has revised the preamble to the 1980 "Federal Standards for Prisons and Jails" to diminish the importance and effect of these guidelines.

On immigration matters Smith is similarly cavalier about rights. He headed the Cabinet-level task force on immigration and refugee policy that generated a variety of restrictive measures, including the pernicious Omnibus Immigration Control bill that would give the President emergency powers to bar, without judicial review, certain aliens from arriving and to deport those already here. The task force also recommended that "the Administration detain rather than release illegals pending exclusion hearings" and proposed that detention facilities be made available for as many as 10,000 aliens.

The policy of the Justice Department toward the large numbers of Haitians who seek sanctuary in this country betrays a similar insensitivity to due-process rights. At Smith's direction, Coast Guard cutters stop boats fleeing from Haiti in mid-ocean and make the refugees board the cutters to plead their case to immigration officials there. Asked about these kangaroo courts at a press conference, Smith remarked—as if those fleeing Haiti merely wanted to go on a holiday—"that somebody in Haiti who is interested in coming to the United States legally would go to a consular officer there and make his application and, presumably, wait in line; and that is about the extent of the procedural due process that that individual has. There is no reason to provide those who seek to enter the country illegally with more extensive procedures in this respect than would be true with those who attempt to accomplish the same thing legally."

Consistent with this attitude, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which is part of the Justice Department, has indicated that it may try to deport certain members of the Socialist Workers Party. In an April 1981 submission in response to a suit the party has brought against the government for harassment, the I.N.S. argued that it could take action against non-citizen party members on the ground that they advocate "world communism"—a provision of the Immigration Act that has not been trotted out since the days of Joseph McCarthy.

Smith's priorities are also evident in his decision to shift the emphasis of Federal law enforcement from white-collar crime to drug trafficking—even though the department's Drug Enforcement Administration is so out of control that it has recently been reprimanded by the department's "watchdog" unit. ("D.E.A. uses its integrity program less to identify and respond to misconduct within the agency, than as a management tool to protect those in favor or to discipline those in disfavor.") In January, Smith became the first Attorney General to assign the Federal Bureau of Investigation jurisdiction over drug offenses, providing the D.E.A. with F.B.I. personnel and expertise for wiretaps and electronic surveillance. F.B.I. Director William Webster has admitted that Bureau involvement in drug crime will probably detract from "low-priority" white-collar investigations—and the budget request the department submitted to Congress in February leaves ninety-five white-collar-crime positions vacant. These cases will likely be handicapped further by Smith's dissolution of the department's economic crime units.

A similar sense of priorities might be seen as well in the Justice Department's decision to give a loose rein to the various Central American exile groups training in the United States, on the one hand, and its preparations to prosecute at least "hundreds" of men who have not registered for Selective Service, on the other.

Those who detect shades of Nixon justice here are not likely to be comforted by Smith's most ominous undertaking: his attempt to revive the Imperial Presidency. In a memorandum last October 13, Smith advised Reagan to invoke executive privilege for Secretary of the Interior James Watt so that he could withhold thirty-one documents and refuse to answer questions from the House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. Although Watt provided nineteen of the documents, he was cited for contempt by the subcommittee and then by the full committee for not providing all of the material. When it looked as if the House would follow the committee's lead, the Administration gave in and the rest of the documents were turned over to the subcommittee. But among the more troublesome aspects of Smith's October memorandum is his contention that "only in the most unusual circumstances" can Congress support "a demand for predecisional, deliberative documents in the possession of the executive branch"—or, in other words, all executive branch com-

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munications, no matter how insignificant, are sacrosanct. So sweeping is this view of executive privilege that it rivals the indefensible claims of Nixon and his compliant Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst. James Hamilton, counsel to the Senate Watergate committee, has put it bluntly: "The current suggestion that all documents used in the 'executive branch deliberative process'—regardless of whether they contain advice or merely underlying facts—may be kept from Congress is reminiscent of Kleindienst's discredited assertion, and is similarly infirm." □

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 416*)

in effect a system of apartheid. Menachem Begin is only the latest in a long line of Israelis proclaiming philosophical and theological rights for the Jews in Palestine in essentially colonial terms. Perhaps the alliances between Israel and the current Chilean, Philippine, Salvadoran, South African and Haitian regimes are tactical, but what of Israeli policy toward the Palestinians, from 1948 until now? Merely tactical?

It is disingenuous to suggest that the problem is that Palestinians won't recognize the "legitimacy" of Zionism now that most of the West Bank and Gaza has been colonized, and when so far as I know no appreciable sector of Israeli society has admitted the troubling coincidence between Zionist success and Palestinian disaster. From 1948 to this day, what has victorious Israel *in fact* offered the Palestinians? Conquest, racial discrimination, imprisonment, bombardment and worse. How can Avineri still say that he waits for a Palestinian willingness to admit the *legitimacy* (not merely the reality) of the movement that did all these things, in the name of the Jewish people, to Palestinians?

I find it stupefying that he expects me or any other Palestinian to say, yes, we were wrong not to accept down-the-middle partition in 1947 (although we were more than 65 percent of the population and held almost 90 percent of the land), and wrong too to have offered partition now (the two-state solution that is P.L.O. policy). I find it incredible that he expects us to recognize the theory and legitimacy of Zionism, accept Israel as a state *with no officially declared borders*, accept also our exile and the pitiful little "autonomy" offered us by Israel and the United States, accept occupation, daily threats of invasion, juridical discrimination against us simply because we are "non-Jews," accept all this "tragically" in the way proposed by Avineri.

But judging from his own example as an enlightened former government official, what is the future Israeli response likely to be? Nothing at all, and just more of the same. (Please note also how carefully he avoids taking a position on the recognition of the P.L.O.)

In my article I said openly that there should be a greater Palestinian clarity, a more developed program presented for Palestinians and Jews together in Palestine, and, I am prepared to say, immediate negotiations between us and them. But let's not have more Zionist metaphysics, no more pre-pre-pre-conditions before Zionists come forward to say that the essential issue is whether Israel can face its *Palestinian* past, whether *officially* and *in practice* it can admit to the Palestinians that it accepts Palestinian representation, i.e., the P.L.O., and that it also accepts the principle of national self-determination for Palestinians in Palestine. Avineri should direct his disappointment at his own government and society: there's much about them to be disappointed in.

Edward Said

'ANTI-ZIONISM IS ANTI-SEMITISM'

New York City

The Nation, a self-styled journal of the left, has adopted and skillfully articulated a proposition that has traditionally been a monopoly of the right: it's all the fault of the Jews. The notion that all the problems of the Middle East are traceable to Zionism, Israel and the Jews who support Israel is so simplistic that *The Nation* might have been a bit more circumspect than to accuse others of subscribing to myths. Let me point to some of the more egregious statements and omissions.

The introductory editorial says that "a sizable minority of patriotic Israeli dissenters favors—under various conditions—negotiating with the [Palestine Liberation Organization]." What is "sizable"? Who determines "patriotic"? But, more important, have you consulted recent (as well as less recent) opinion surveys on the subject? Every one shows that about 90 percent of Israelis oppose negotiating with the P.L.O. under any conditions.

There was indeed a time, long before Israel was created and before the Holocaust, when Zionism was controversial among Jews and when it was wrong to "equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism." *The Nation* implies that this still holds true. It doesn't. The Holocaust and the creation of a Jewish state have wrought a fundamental change in the thinking and the self-identification of all but a minority of Jews: today the vast majority of Jews who identify with their Jewishness are Zionists—not in the card-carrying sense but in their attitudes and commitment. There is not a mainstream Jewish organization in this country or in Western Europe—the two major remaining Diaspora concentrations—that does not actively support Israel and speak in defense of Zionism. Consequently, in light of what happened in World War II and the open aggression and almost continuous terrorism by Arabs since then, anti-Zionism is seen by most of the Jewish community as a kind of anti-Semitism.

The fact that Uri Avnery and Meir Kahane are quoted to support *The Nation*'s views underscores the weakness of the argument. Spokesmen from both fringes are cited but left out are the views of Amnon Rubinstein or Abba Eban on the "liberal" side and Menachem Begin on the "conservative" side of the Israeli spectrum—i.e., the Israeli mainstream. That's the same as quoting the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party and the Libertarians to shed light on American politics. . . .

For much of his article, Boas Evron discusses an important intra-Israeli issue that has little bearing on the "Middle East." Only toward the end of his piece does he deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict, saying that Israel has failed to try for "the kind of settlement with its neighbors that it reached with Egypt—peace in exchange for territories." I think it is a safe bet that if any other neighbor does what Anwar el-Sadat did, Israel would move just as fast as Begin did on Sinai. And if whoever is Prime Minister at the time doesn't respond, he would probably be voted out quickly. . . .

Robert B. Goldmann

EVRON TAKES ISSUE

Ramat-Gan, Israel

I received the December 5 issue of *The Nation*, containing an article bearing my name and renamed by you "Israel After Zionism." Reading over the article, I did not recognize the manuscript that I sent you. Had you sent me the galley proofs, as you promised me and had ample time to do so but didn't, I would have certainly refused permission to have the article printed in this form.

In the whole of my career as a writer, I have never encountered such ignorant, crude editing, which amounts to a rewriting of the piece. It does not only eliminate all shadings of meaning, all reservations and qualifications, so necessary in such a complex, sensitive issue, turning the whole piece into blunt, vulgar polemics, but also does something unheard of in the journalism I am familiar with: *the editing actually changed meanings and added sentences which were not included in the original text at all.*

To give some of the most glaring ex-

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amples. The first paragraph on page 598 reads as follows: "First, a majority of the Jewish people did not want to emigrate from North and South America to the Jewish homeland, thus casting doubt on the idea of a dispersed nation with an age-old yearning for a homeland," etc. The impression gathered from this sentence is that I was dealing with present-day events; whereas it is clear from the context of that part of the article that I was dealing with the historical origins of Zionism, when most of the Jewish people were concentrated in Eastern Europe. What I wrote is: "Firstly, it became apparent that the majority of the Jewish people, including East European Jewry, *which indeed did possess many national traits* (unlike the communities of the West or of the Islamic world), did not wish to emigrate to the Jewish homeland, preferring the Americas," etc. Your editor, apart from mangling the whole argument, and my attempt to describe and do justice to the complexity of the Jewish historical situation, misunderstood it as dealing with the present, and vulgarized the paragraph into hackneyed polemics.

In the very beginning of the article, I describe [Theodore] Herzl as the founder of *political* Zionism. Your editor deleted the word "political." But if Herzl was the unqualified founder of Zionism pure and simple, how could you leave, in the beginning of the third paragraph on the same page, the words: "But now, more than a century after the founding of Zionism in Czarist Russia, eighty-five years after Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat*," etc.? Obviously here is a discrepancy and muddle-headedness which any attentive reader would lay at my door, thanks to the good offices of your editor, who betrays here both his ignorance of history and his slapdash method of work.

All of these examples are taken, at random, only from the very beginning of the article. I could go on, paragraph by paragraph, showing the arrogant, high-handed mauling and garbling my article had undergone and the additional material inserted into it, which amounts to libel, as I am being made responsible for things which I have never written. This is apart from the general coarsening of style perpetrated by your editor. When I wrote: "These seemingly obsolete debates have now proved to be burning issues. On many counts, the Zionist prognosis has been shown to be erroneous," what appears in your issue is: "The issues raised in these *long-ago* [*sic!*] debates have not been solved by the passage of time. Rather, the Zionist 'solution' has proved to be faulty on several counts." (Last paragraph, p. 597.) Apart from the fact that "solution" is not "prognosis," and apart from the illiterate "long-ago debates," your version contains twenty-nine words to my twenty-three, and is clumsy and confused at that.

On the basis of the above, I disown the article, as it appears in your magazine, and disclaim responsibility for anything printed in it. Words fail me to describe my distaste for such a mishandling of a writer's painstaking effort on the part of a supposedly civilized publication. *Boas Evron*

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REPLY

We regret that deadline pressures made it impossible for Boas Evron to review galleys in advance of the publication of his article, thereby depriving him of the opportunity to ratify (or object to) editorial changes. And because he feels so sensitive on the matter, we are printing his letter exactly as it was received, without even making what for us would be the traditional emendations for grammar and style. The difficulties of trans-Atlantic communication are perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the first of Evron's objections is to a cut that he himself originally proposed. Indeed, we believe that on balance the editing improved and clarified his message. Nevertheless, if his brilliant essay was diminished even in nuance, we take our full share of responsibility—especially since the purpose of our special issue was to improve communications on matters relating to the Middle East. —*The Editors*

EVRON IS A RALLYING POINT

New York City

Many thanks for your special Middle East issue. To one who yearns for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it seems that *The Nation* has made a much-needed contribution toward that goal. . . .

I paid particular attention to Boas Evron, who appears to have more on the ball than many self-professed liberals. His thoughts should be a rallying point for those who want peace in the Middle East. . . .

Harry Tobman

ISRAEL'S ANTI-SOVIET ROLE

Camas, Wash.

The December 5, 1981, issue of *The Nation* undoubtedly raised many hackles both among Jews and Arabs, but for the most part it failed to raise the central issue of Israel's role as a major satrap of American anti-Soviet foreign policy. While the hostilities between Jews and Arabs are central to the Middle East conflict, East-West hostility shines through clearly. The "memorandum of understanding" signed by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was forthright in its identification of the Soviet Union as the main danger to peace in the Middle East. . . . Constant invocation of the "Soviet threat" has not only been an "open sesame" to the U.S. Treasury for the Pentagon since 1945; the alleged threat has also been the main, if not the only, reason for immediate American compliance with Israeli weaponry and aid requests. Forget Yasir Arafat and even Muammar el-Qaddafi. Leonid Brezhnev is the target of American policy in the Middle East.

It is instructive to see the way American liberals like Ted Kennedy, Alan Cranston and others take a relatively benign view of the Soviet Union's actions *except* when it comes to the Middle East. It is obviously their pro-Zionism—a characteristic of American liberalism—that prompts their leap to Israel's defense against the Bear. It is just as obviously the reason why they are major forces in the Soviet Jewry campaign. Clearly, as Christopher Hitchens reports, identification with Israel drives American liberals to the right. . . .

To ignore the role that anti-Sovietism plays in the U.S.-Israel connection is to overlook the most important aspect of the sad history of the Middle East since World War II. While fantasies about "decadent Arab sheiks" and "crazed Arab terrorists" undoubtedly figure in both U.S. and Israeli attitudes, it is anti-Sovietism that dominates their strategy. *Frank W. Goheen*

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Weehawken, N.J.

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Joseph Tobey

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Struggle of Memory

TERRENCE DES PRES

THE BLACK BOOK. *Edited by Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman. Translated by John Glad and James S. Levine. Holocaust Library. 595 pp. $19.95. Paper $9.95.*

The new mystique of force is far advanced. Terrorism, killer regimes, totalitarian crackdown and the dozen wars now in progress are some of its signs. All of these are examples of a kind of power radically distrustful of any solution—negotiation, treaty, détente—not grounded in force or its threat. The worst thing about the new faith in force is that power of this kind must act to exist. To prove itself, someone must die, some nation or people be bled off the earth. Wherever it looks it detects only the counterimage of itself and prepares to respond in kind. Hence an arms race that, short of a shoot-out, cannot end. Hence our terror of nuclear catastrophe—as when a recent survey of grade-school children revealed that most could envision no future for themselves except death in a nuclear blast.

For the first time in history we are all expendable. The human condition with its tragic sense of life no longer consoles because it is no longer timeless; it has become contingent not upon God or fate but upon power in the hands of a few men no different from ourselves—except, of course, for the force at their disposal. We live in an age of absolute power, and our deepest feeling is that we are powerless. Strictly speaking, our situation in itself is unprecedented; but we do know of an episode in history in which power became absolute and insanely destructive, and in which we have begun to see the emblem of our present predicament. I am referring, of course, to the Holocaust, and more especially to the enormous amount of attention we now pay it.

As a result of our concern with the Holocaust, we are beginning to understand that after Auschwitz we possess a knowledge that those who perished did not have. We know that innocence is not justified. We know that power needs an enemy, even if having one leads to self-destruction. We know, in short, that anything can happen, or that where the mystique of force prevails all things are permitted. And now—or so it seems to me—we are starting to see that our best defense against further damage is to root ourselves in the memory of events that shock and hurt and thereby summon conscience and concern. Milan Kundera put it this way: "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

Kundera is right. Accurate remembering is the first step against power's abuse. Tyrants know this. Why don't we? Let the fate of *The Black Book*, to which I now turn, be an example. Because the memory of past disasters keeps us critical of present policies, governments have a vested interest in blurring the past. In totalitarian regimes, it may be expunged entirely. Is memory conscience? Stalin evidently thought so. Among his many crimes, the mutilation of memory was not least. Control of the future depends in part on control of the past, and that was surely part of Stalin's reasoning when, having been presented with *The Black Book*, the officially sanctioned record of the Nazi destruction of 1.5 million Russian Jews, he ordered it destroyed, its type forms smashed. Stalin had his way; *The Black Book* was suppressed and disappeared but, like the return of the repressed, here it is. And here are some of its particulars.

After a day of killing at Babi Yar, a German soldier walks upon the tangled bodies of the slain. He bayonets those who still seem alive but does not notice one woman (she will crawl out and survive) because he is standing on her. At Odessa, on the Black Sea, barges loaded with women and children come and go; they depart full and return empty. At Berdichev the massacre starts by pushing Jews into acid vats at a leather factory. At the peak of operations the clay pits won't absorb more blood, which gathers in pools so deep people drown. Also at Berdichev the S.S. discover that one of their victims is a butcher. They round up some children and order the man to take his knife and get busy. When he refuses, his knife is used on him. At Minsk the ghetto is surrounded and the Jews are wiped out in waves. Before each sweep, a table heavy with food and wine is set up in the open street. The S.S. commanders sit down to a solid meal and much drink, and only then does the killing get underway, drunken, worse than drunken. Everywhere there is rape, smashing of small heads, dismemberment: "They cut out the sexual organs with daggers, forced living and dead bodies to assume the most disgusting poses, cut off noses, breasts, and ears." And everywhere—at Mariupol, for instance—trenches are so full of the dead that when new victims are ordered to line up at the edge, "there was no longer any real edge, since the trench was filled with people for a half kilometer."

Perhaps reciting facts like these—*just* reciting—goes beyond decent restraint. No doubt, but that is the nature of *The Black Book*; it goes on in like manner for hundreds of pages. Included are firsthand accounts, letters, parts of diaries. But the text is mainly a compendium of reports given by witnesses, which were then "prepared for publication" by one or another of the editors and finally presented to the reader in summary form. The result, unmediated by personal voice or narrative shape, is extremely stark. This is a list, which, like any list, gives the impression of chaos *and* of hidden logic. This impression, as we shall see, is correct in a deeper sense than perhaps the original editors intended. As a collection of documents concerning the Soviet dimension of the Holocaust, I have never seen the like. In almost every way, this is a strange book, mysterious in itself, in the circumstances surrounding its survival and publication, in the disquieting mixture of horror and heroism it promotes.

Foremost, however, *The Black Book* contains remarkable information about the *first phase* of Hitler's death sweep, before the automatization of mass extermination had been perfected in places like Auschwitz. We have had rumors but little hard evidence about the behavior of the *Einsatzgruppen*, the S.S. mobile killing units that swept into the Soviet Union behind the advancing German Army after the invasion in

Terrence Des Pres, author of The Survivor *(Oxford), is currently writing a book about poetry and politics.*

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June 1941. At that stage there was no smooth machinery to facilitate murder on the grand scale. Killing was ad hoc, inventive and, in its dependence on imagination, peculiarly expressive. Destruction was absolutely free, and as incidents I cited suggest, this was murder uncanny in its anonymous intimacy, a hostility so personally focused on human flesh that the abstract fact of death was not enough. Like the work of the government death squads in El Salvador, this manner of killing exceeded the technical requirements for following orders and getting the job done. The extent of gratuitous mutilation, the amount of hard work that goes into tearing human bodies apart, bespeaks a darkness in the human soul beyond all rational calculation.

As we now have it, *The Black Book* comes with an official preface and *three* introductory statements, the effect of which is a certain unaccountable obscurity. Evidently, the book was translated from Yiddish and Rumanian in part, but mainly from Russian. An incomplete Russian manuscript surfaced in Jerusalem, at Yad Vashem; to this were added parts of a Rumanian edition of part of the original book and fragments taken from the collected works of the principal editor. Together these constitute the present edition, yet how they came together—the principle of selection—remains unclear. But at least the book's intent needs no explanation. As soon as word began coming in about Nazi treatment of Soviet Jews, Ilya Ehrenburg, then among the most popular Soviet writers, started collecting evidence and testimony, much of it while the war was still in progress. A government commission was formed, and Ehrenburg, along with Vasily Grossman and assistants, began to interview survivors, and to solicit information. Ehrenburg clearly cared deeply about the suffering of Russia's Jews, and he set about gathering a record that would bear true and complete witness.

As far as basic description of events is concerned, I am satisfied that in the main the record is accurate. And yet there is something else, which at first seems merely "different," but which gradually grows disturbing and at last suggests the perverse character of any document that passes through official channels before it reaches us. Put bluntly, in *The Black Book* the Soviet dimension of the Holocaust becomes allegorical. Facts are made to carry ideological import. Truth bends to accommodate what nowadays our leaders would call "the big picture."

In the village of Yaryshevo, 500 Jews are marched off to be shot. A young woman, the local mathematics teacher (the intellectual?), turns to "the doomed people," and presumably while the S.S. killers stand respectfully by, she delivers a little speech: "Our brothers are still at the front. They will return. There is the Soviet government. It is immortal. There is Stalin. He will not forget this." But, of course, the S.S. would have shot her the instant she began to speak. I doubt that such a speech was delivered in so articulate and authoritative a manner; as the footnote tells us, it was "prepared for publication" by Ehrenburg. Most of the material in *The Black Book* was "prepared" in this way, and very often specific entries conclude with paeans to Stalin or the state. In one case a dying woman says: "Shoot me, you murderers! But know that Stalin will come." And when a group of Jews are saved by the timely arrival of the Red Army, the army commander orates to this effect: "He spoke of the unbreakable friendship of peoples, of equality, and brotherhood—the great law of Soviet life." What makes this kind of statement suspect is simply the memory of how, under Stalin's rule, "the great law of Soviet life" actually operated.

These were, of course, intensely patriotic times and the Germans were truly hated. It might be, too, that Soviet Jews did not feel betrayed by their nation as, say, German or French Jews did. And at least some of the victims may well have been tough customers. A man of 70 shouts: "Shoot me! My sons will avenge me." A man of 80 also "shouts," this time after being wounded: "Shoot again, you swine! You won't get me with one bullet!" Last words, in examples like these, are too often shouted, and the shout is formulaic. The victims brim with hatred and contempt, they know no fear and they repeatedly express heroic faith in Stalin as the Great Avenger. Everywhere the theme of vengeance is sounded, and that is the point: it sounds like a theme. "It's all right, Momma, walk bravely. Our blood will be avenged." That, from a 12-year-old girl on her way to be shot. Or as one report has it: "Of the 26,000 Brest Jews, 12 to 15 survived. It is a miracle that these people had the passionate will to con-

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tinue their struggle for revenge."

I do not wish to compromise the many acts of courage and resistance recorded in *The Black Book*. The issue is not *what* happened but how such massive suffering is used or interpreted. What we get is a bunch of themes: vengeance, Stalin's wrath, the "victory of justice" that the Soviet Army will finally bring forth. Ehrenburg and Grossman heighten Jewish loyalty to Stalin, thereby encompassing the catastrophe within Soviet heroics. Jewish cooperation with Russian partisans is played up, whereas Russian cooperation with the Germans (the notorious collaboration of the Ukrainians, for example) is played down. In Ehrenburg's words: "With the exception of a handful of traitors, Soviet citizens who fell into the paws of the invaders remained true to the ideals of Stalin's constitution." In his preface, Grossman refers often to "the freedom-loving Soviet people" and quotes Stalin himself as saying that "communists, as true internationalists, cannot but be implacable and sworn foes of anti-Semitism." That was Stalin's view in 1931. In 1939 he was helping Hitler carve up Poland. But then, even great leaders can have a change of heart. Or indeed several, depending on which way the blood flows.

The overwhelming omission—inevitably so—from Ehrenburg and Grossman's account of the Jewish catastrophe in Russia is any mention of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact and its consequences. Instead, as in Grossman's preface, there is lots of this sort of stuff: "The wise mind of the people realized why the Fascists had undertaken this monstrous, bloody provocation, and the pure heart of the people shuddered when rivers of innocent blood began to flow." I do not wish to partake of our current anti-Soviet mania, but I must say that I find that kind of writing reassuring; I mean the glaring way language reveals its own betrayal. All governments produce such rot, but the Soviet brand has been so cynical as to seem unusually naïve. And I am not sure whether in the case of Ehrenburg and Grossman such language reflects cynicism or simply blind zeal. But either way, the outcome is betrayal, and not of language only. Grossman's preface rises to this shameless conclusion: "Standing on the edge of a mass grave, crossing the threshold of the gas chamber, or approaching the bonfire in their last

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minutes, the doomed people hurled down curses upon their executioners, reminding them of an inescapable vengeance. . . . And vengeance came." The "day of justice" arrived, but not before a million and a half Jews perished on Soviet soil.

Grossman's vision was inspired, at least partly, by the furious last days of what Russians call the "Great Patriotic War," and his point of view, which was official doctrine then, remains official doctrine now. The Kremlin's version of the Holocaust asserts that the genocide of the Jews was an experiment or a rehearsal, preparatory to Hitler's real aim, which was the destruction of the U.S.S.R. Hitler did plan to enslave Slavic peoples, but that had nothing to do with the Holocaust. Even so, to take Grossman's view puts the victims in the category of martyrs, and gives them a share in Soviet glory. Why, then, did Stalin decide to get rid of *The Black Book*? Somewhere in the tangle of introductions the suggestion is made that Stalin did not wish to embarrass Germany after the war, at least not the chunk of it he had just acquired. I should also think that he did not wish to embarrass the Red Army, impotent for lack of leadership, which he himself had destroyed in the purges of the 1930s. Stalin's own anti-Semitism cannot be ruled out. And I think, finally, that he did not wish to be reminded of his deal with Hitler. The faster that memory faded the better. For the part of Hitler's genocide that took place on Russian soil owed very much to Stalin's own misuse of power. Were it not for the Hitler-Stalin pact, German forces could not have penetrated so much of Russia so fast. In fact, that part of Hitler's genocide might, at least to a degree, have been prevented.

The Black Book is a unique and invaluable document. It stands as a monument to the Jewish agony in Russia, to the complexity of evil that brought such suffering to pass and finally to the moral struggle of memory against its own betrayal. That the book exists at all is close to a miracle. Its "story" has been tragic and precarious, and I expect that the triumph of its recent publication will occasion still more complications. Some readers will condemn the book because it bears the taint of Soviet propaganda. Others will excuse almost everything in order to salvage the central record. *The Black Book* is one of those rare books with a fate; but in our time to have a fate is asking for trouble. Here, too, its essential strangeness becomes apparent. Having survived distortion and suppression, its embattled existence goes on, reminding us of memory's cost. □

Imperialism Without Splendor

FOUAD AJAMI

Pax Britannica in the Middle East was a short affair, achieved—as Jan Morris put it in her evocative work *Farewell The Trumpets*—by an "empire in menopause." But even for so limited an enterprise, it had its stylists, its romantics, its visionaries: T.E. Lawrence, famous for the brilliance of his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*; Gertrude Bell, archeologist and linguist, who first made her way deep into the Arabian interior, then joined the Arab Bureau of the British government and later became Oriental Secretary in the Hashemite kingdom of Iraq; H. St. John Philby, whose Arabian journeys led him to rebel against the authoritarianism of the British Empire and find comfort in the mighty presence of King Ibn Saud, finally renouncing Christianity to adopt Islam.

It may have been a doomed affair, an empire acquired when the tide had turned against empire. But even at the moment of its dissolution, Pax Britannica imposed on its governors the burden of encountering the lives of others, of traveling into their poetry and language, of getting under their skin. Even when the whole thing was perverted—when colonizers fantasized about Bedouins and ignored nationalist unrest, when they fell in love with deserts and ignored cities bursting with new yearnings and ideas—there was still something there. Something that can be felt when reading any of the writings of those who worked or played within the imperial domain.

If one goes by the accounts it has so far evoked, Pax Americana must be judged a dry, uninspiring affair. It has been a quarter of a century since the Americans replaced the Europeans in the Middle East as a result of the Suez War—long enough to establish a tradition, a discourse, a literature showing flashes of brilliance and, yes, eccentricity. But none of this has come to pass. Even a land roiled with coups, rebellions, assassinations and millennial dreams, even a world gripped by a civilizational crisis perhaps as deep as that of Russia in the nineteenth century, can be reduced, it seems, to banalities. It can be written about in books that read like arid memorandums. It can be seen as a mere reflection of our own interests: we talk about it, therefore it exists. It can be regarded as a blank piece of real estate contested by the superpowers, as if there were no need to listen to its anguished voices, to pay heed to its own priorities.

For some time now, William Quandt has been laboring at that point where the scholarship about and practice of American foreign policy converge. A former academic at the Rand Corporation and the University of Pennsylvania, he helped to write the Brookings Institution report on the Middle East that was to be the blueprint of the Carter Administration's policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict and then he joined Zbigniew Brzezinski's National Security Council as a staff member on the Middle East. He subsequently joined the Brookings Institution, where he works today, and it is in conjunction with Brookings that he has recently produced a book on Saudi Arabia* that, unhappily, exemplifies all the essentials of Pax Americana.

It is a book remarkable for its intellectual complacency, for the political shallowness of its basic assumptions. Consider some of its closing words:

> The future of Saudi Arabia depends in large measure on its relationship with the United States. Many internal developments, of course, will have a life of their own. But Saudi Arabia has in recent years been heavily influenced by events beyond its borders, and that reality will not change in the 1980s. . . . Few foreign policy matters deserve a higher priority in Wash-

Fouad Ajami is director of Middle East studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and author of The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967 *(Cambridge University Press).*

**Saudi Arabia in the 1980s: Foreign Policy, Security and Oil.* The Brookings Institution. 190 pp. $8.95.

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> ington, for it is there that the future of U.S.-Saudi relations will largely be decided.

This startling passage gives it all away: the life and reality of another society are appropriated, turned into echoes of what will be said and written "in Washington." No need for intellectual toil; no need to traverse forbidding deserts, as Philby and Bell did; no need to take the sensibilities and dilemmas of another culture on their own terms. From Washington one can survey the entire scene, self-importantly proclaiming that the future of another society will be determined in one's own capital.

Because he lives and works in Washington, and because the book is aimed at those who shore up America's position and manage its affairs, Quandt must of course tackle the crucial question of Saudi Arabia's stability. It is for a service such as this that we pay and honor our experts. They must tell us whence the storm will come and how to be ready for it. (Obviously, they need not be right. As George Orwell observed, "Political or military commentators, like astrologers, can survive any mistake, because their more devoted followers do not look to them for an appraisal of the facts but for the stimulations of nationalistic loyalties." No one remembers what was said yesterday anyway.) Quandt prefaces his offering by disparaging previous experts in his domain: "The debate over Saudi stability has been largely sterile because of the *partisanship of most protagonists*. And yet the issue is of sufficient importance that it is worth trying to identify the strengths and the weaknesses of the Saudi regime and the strategies available to it for coping with the challenges of the 1980s." And what is his conclusion? "Saudi Arabia seems destined to confront serious external challenges during the 1980s. Much depends on how the Saudi regime handles these threats." From "sterility" to banality.

"The East is a career," observed Disraeli. But back then people exerted themselves to come to terms with the mystery and the ways of the East. You really do not need an expert to tell you that much of the future of any political order depends on the wisdom of its leaders. But that is all Quandt can say, because he is, culturally and intellectually, cut off from the land he writes about. He cannot conjure up its sounds, the discourse of its rulers, the sermons of its *ulama*, the discussions and ambitions of its young people. He is reduced to giving us a mechanical tour through the ritual subjects, each handled in a single paragraph or two, at most in one or two pages, before he marches on to the next.

We learn that "petrodollar wealth has had a corrosive effect on values throughout the oil-rich countries, and once again Saudi Arabia has not been able to escape the virus." We might want to know more about this; but Quandt merely tells us that one of the "junior princes" of the Saudi royal family played squash with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that he cultivated the Washington press corps and that, from his Washington townhouse, "at the touch of a button on his private phone he could be in direct contact with Fahd and Sultan." (As I said, Pax Americana is not like the British version; imperial splendor is not what it used to be.)

We learn of "senior princes," "junior princes," technocrats and *ulama*. All somehow interact. How do they do so? How do the generations broker competing sensibilities? How do they reconcile the claims of their world as it is and the temptations of newly available wealth? We do not know, because the author himself does not know. (Which does not, to be sure, keep him from appointing himself judge of their competence, assigning good marks for this decision, bad marks for that one. Throughout there is the voice of cold, superior judgment.)

A few years ago, a book on the Saudi state since 1945 was published in Arabic by the Lebanese scholar Ghassan Salameh. It was a massive work, more than 700 pages long, a deep look into Saudi society. It did the country the honor of taking it on its own terms. It brought to life real men making political decisions, handling a world on the move, supporting or fighting this or that cause.

To my mind it is revealing that Quandt never mentions this book. He writes as though he were somehow venturing into virgin territory. Much of what he tries to cover—the question of the "Saudi era" that began in 1974, for example, and the whole matter of "restoration" in Arab politics after the defeat of Nasserism in 1967—has been the subject of intense debate in the Arab world. It has dominated the entire spectrum of Arab discourse and engaged the

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talent of some outstanding scholars and commentators. There have been illuminating contributions by Mohamed Heikal of Egypt, Sadik Al-Azm of Syria, George Corm of Lebanon, by academics like Saad Ibrahim, Ali Hillal Dessouki and Jamil Mattar. Magazines and journals in Kuwait, Beirut and Cairo, in addition to the Arab press in Beirut, have printed wrenching discussions of these questions. One would think that proper scholarship would take note of this debate, would provide a sense of what ails and troubles the places being examined. Instead, the Quandt book is reduced to relying on handouts, on translated broadcasts, on Congressional hearings, on a few scattered articles in English.

It is no surprise, then, that Quandt assigns what he calls the "American connection" of Saudi Arabia such transcending importance. It is there that his own material must inevitably take him. But even there he misses the cultural and historical depth of this material and the trauma that the embrace of foreign powers can cause in societies that try to maintain themselves. Since October 1973, the American presence in the Middle East has become a profound political and cultural issue. It played itself out tragically in Iran, and it has been painful and difficult for the Arabs as well. More than half a century ago the founder of the current dynasty of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, expressed the dilemma with reference to another power: "England is of Europe," he said. "I will walk with them only as far as my religion and honor will permit." Clearly there are limits to how far societies with deeply different sensibilities can "walk" with one another. Were we to understand these limits, we would tread more carefully. We would leave it to others to determine their own priorities; we would know when the limits were being violated, and then we would back off and refrain from asking others to join our crusades while we slight their concerns. It is difficult to do—it means we need, as Clifford Geertz has put it, "to come to terms with the lives and thoughts of strangers"—but Quandt seems not even to have begun to attempt it.

Quandt has written a book cut off from the language of the country he writes about. Not merely figuratively but literally: his work is crippled because he has little or no command of Arabic. Imagine Fritz Stern writing on Germany without hearing Germans talk of themselves and of their dreams and delusions, or Stanley Hoffmann writing about France without knowing the ways of its people and the nuances of their language, the smug complacency of its officials and the discourse of its intellectuals. It could not happen. But a different standard is applied to the Middle East. Imperial power gives people a dispensation from intellectual toil and excellence. You can write about Iran without knowing Farsi; you can pontificate about the Arabs without knowing Arabic. These are forbidding languages. Do not bother the experts with the job of knowing the ways of these lands, for it is Pax Americana which ultimately will determine their destiny and interpret their reality.

In a different century and a different world James Mill thought it rational to write his multivolume *History of British India* without going there and without knowing any of India's languages. The result was a book of flawed brilliance which led astray a number of his followers and produced an image of India for many Englishmen that became more important than the reality. But James Mill was James Mill. Our experts today lead us similarly astray, but they do not err brilliantly—they simply err. They take us into what should be exciting territory, and return not with insights into others but with echoes of themselves. We do not see what is over there; we hear only our own gossip, our own thoughts and delusions. □

After the Giants

STEPHEN KOCH

THE UNQUIET GRAVE: A Word Cycle by Palinurus. *By Cyril Connolly. Persea Books. 156 pp. $5.95.*

A couple of years back, an editor at Persea Books asked Burt Britton, then at Books and Company in New York City, to name the most sought-after out-of-print book he knew. Britton's answer was prompt: Cyril Connolly's *The Unquiet Grave.* It was a word to the wise, which prompted the restoration of the extraordinary—I almost said prophetic—classic before us now.

Literary survival is delicate stuff. Cyril Connolly has been dead since 1974, and as he himself foresaw, his name has faded fast. In his day, Connolly was the most visible literary journalist in England. He was the lead book critic of *The Observer*, and before that the founding editor of *Horizon*, the most distinguished modernist magazine in England after the demise of Eliot's *Criterion*. Between 1940 and 1970, Connolly's role as arbiter of taste was not unlike Edmund Wilson's here a generation earlier, except that Connolly was a much more glittering, less pompous writer than Wilson. He was also less "solid," and he never came even remotely close to taking literary journalism to the summits to which it was carried during the same period by W. H. Auden in America and Maurice Blanchot in France. His criticism reads instead like the talk of a fast, funny, entirely articulate dilettante and man of the world, a wonderfully knowing connoisseur of people and places, who knows every texture of solitude and company, of sex and sense and literature; one whose dominant trait (definitive in a great editor, and a shade less desirable in an artist) is to have, to *be*, the absolute last word in sophistication.

Connolly knew that the half-life of the last word is fatally short. With more than a little self-pity, he repeatedly called himself his own worst enemy of promise, forever sighing about how soon all this *causerie* would be gone with the journalistic wind. It became an oddly ostentatious piece of self-deprecation in a man who claimed that all he *really* wanted was to write a book that would last ten years.

Especially since that is exactly what he did. Here, after not ten but thirty-five years, is *The Unquiet Grave*. It has to be one of the best books written in English in the years immediately following the death of Virginia Woolf, and one of the few original books of its period. *The Unquiet Grave* is a collection—a "word cycle" Connolly called it—of aphorisms and pensées, of insights and

Stephen Koch is the author of Nightwatch *(Marion Boyars) and the recently completed* The Bachelor's Bride.

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bright ideas, of night thoughts and strokes of despair. It is an anthology of quotations; Connolly uses quotation to much the same effect as Walter Benjamin does, passing through seizures of enthusiasm for his formal models: Pascal, De Quincey, Chamfort and Sainte-Beuve. (With a burst of joy he finds, in Sainte-Beuve: "Epicureanism, properly understood, is the end of everything.") There are wisecracks—this is the birthplace of his most celebrated: "Imprisoned in every fat man a thin man is wildly signalling to be let out." There are flashes of wisdom, intoxicated moments, secular prayers: "Streets of Paris, pray for me; beaches in the sun, pray for me."

This makes the book sound more fragmented than it is. In his review, Edmund Wilson rightly called *The Unquiet Grave* "symphonic rather than aphoristic." It was written in the London of 1942, with the war at its height and while Connolly was living through the interior melodrama that assails most people during the year they turn 40. The world was in the worst war yet; youth was going . . . gone; love (she had left him; he felt to blame) . . . love was lost. So the ship listeth. Connolly assumes the pseudonym of Palinurus, the lost pilot in the *Aeneid* who has fallen overboard and been murdered in a strange land. The prophecy is that until his spirit has been appeased, Aeneas' ship will wander lost.

In fact, *The Unquiet Grave* has a prophetic side of its own. It anticipates (for instance) the last books of Roland Barthes. Here are two critics working at the limits of their form, both shifting restlessly among the possibilities of autobiography and discourse, both haunted by one great magisterial ghost: the novel. Barthes's final books can be read as an extended commentary on Proust, and like *A Lover's Discourse*, *The Unquiet Grave* reads as if it were an autobiographical novel that refuses to be written. Both are saturnine, all but immobilized; both are exorcisms of an inexorcisable grief; both find eloquence in the condition most resistant to narrative—solitude. Both, finally, are portraits of the artist as *reader*.

This self-portrait adds up to a fictitious self, the "Cyril Connolly" who broods over all Connolly's criticism, a character whom he created as surely as Proust created Marcel. In Connolly's case, the invented figure has this identifying trait: *He is a man who has wasted*

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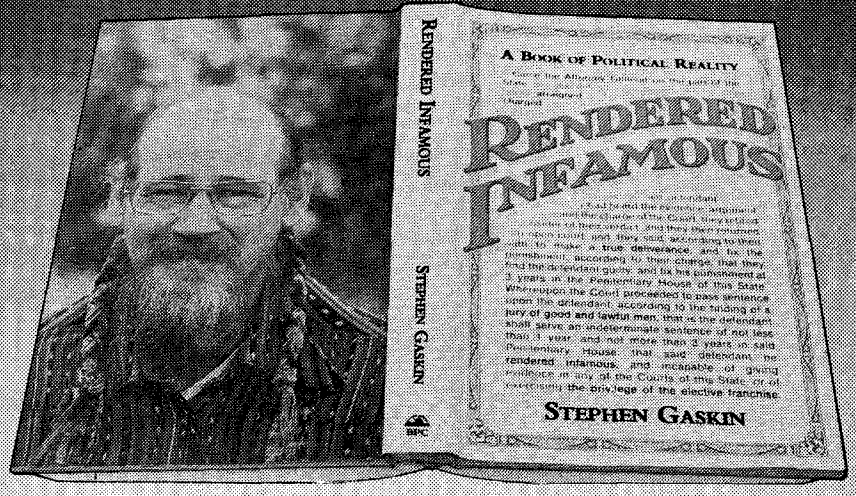

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his talents. Did the "real" Connolly waste his? Perhaps, but that waste is only parallel to the losses of the melancholic self-image discerned in the mirror of his criticism, a creation he began to develop almost as soon as he began to write. His famous crack—"whom the gods wish to destroy, they first call promising"—appears in his first book.

And so The Man Who Wastes His Talents writes *The Unquiet Grave* in fragments because they reflect his own broken, scattered sense of things. But there is more to Connolly's prophecy: as a literary journalist, he is caught in what will become for us, now, a steadily deeper struggle between the essay and the novel as the proper prose form for saying what must be said in our time. This restless, uncertain, unfulfilled search defines *The Unquiet Grave.* Connolly the commentator may be all glittering talk; he is also locked in things unsayable. In fact, this very uncertainty gives *The Unquiet Grave* its odd, darkly glowing poetry.

During the first half of this century, the supreme model for fiction—in Proust, in *Ulysses*—was the epochal, all-encompassing, profoundly organic long work in which the imagination, albeit in irony or in tragedy, stands in an essentially masterful relation to life. Now in our century's happy second half, that great paradigm has effectively been lost, and fiction's formal struggle has become an encounter with, precisely, the loss. (If the slogan "postmodernism" means anything, it may mean that.) In any case, *The Unquiet Grave* is one such encounter, and not incidentally, the year he wrote it, Connolly found himself preparing memorial issues of *Horizon* for Joyce and Virginia Woolf. Cyril Connolly's one undying book turned out to be a brilliant first view of a new world: the world after the giants. And in that sense, the unquiet grave he invokes is the novel as a form, in the precincts of which lies the murdered pilot, the lost guide, whose hurt, unresting spirit—if we hope ever to find our way home again—must be appeased. □

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BOOK NOTES.

INDIAN RUNNING. *By Peter Nabokov. Capra Press (Box 2068, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93120). 208 pp. $9.95.* Long before the advent of Nike and high-fashion sweatsuits, Native Americans practiced what can truly be called the art of running. In some parts of the country they still do. For instance, in August 1980, representatives of several Pueblo tribes ran 375 miles from Taos, New Mexico, to Second Mesa, Arizona, to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the successful Pueblo revolt against the Spanish. Peter Nabokov uses the occasion of this tricentennial run to examine the significance of running in a number of Indian societies, where it served practical and spiritual needs. In doing so, he presents a fascinating chapter in the histories of both Native Americans and of running.

THE REFUSED: The Agony of the Indochina Refugees. *By Barry Wain. Simon and Schuster. 288 pp. $16.50.* When the last helicopter lifted off the roof of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, President Ford told the American people, "Our long national nightmare is over." But the end of that nightmare only led to another—the agony of more than 1 million Vietnamese who sought escape from Vietnam. Barry Wain's moving and comprehensive study of the trials of the "boat people" and the international controversy they sparked is a tragic story in which no one seems to have behaved well. From black market deals in Hong Kong to piracy in the Southeast seas to cynical debates in the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, we are shown innumerable victims and no heroes. But instead of assigning blame, Wain has concentrated on the lessons to be learned from this episode, for as he notes, the agony of the Indochinese refugees is "only the latest of an ongoing series of such tragedies."

THREE MILE ISLAND: Thirty Minutes to Meltdown. *By Daniel F. Ford. Viking Penguin. 275 pp. $15. Paper $5.95.* Three Mile Island was bound to become a watershed for the antinuclear movement, but how many of us know what really occurred the night of March 28, 1979? Using government studies of the accident and private records of the plant designers, Daniel Ford, former director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, provides a highly detailed investigation of the first "General Emergency" ever to occur at a commercial nuclear reactor (although the absence of footnotes is infuriating). More than an examination of an isolated accident, this book is a convincing indictment of the nuclear industry and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UNDERGROUND PRESS. *By Geoffrey Rips. City Lights Books (261 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94133). 176 pp. $7.95.* Between 1968 and 1972, Allen Ginsberg kept a file of newspaper clippings, sworn affidavits, letters and government documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, all of which suggested extensive sabotage of the underground press. Now Geoffrey Rips, the coordinator of PEN American Center's Freedom to Write Committee, has added material to the Ginsberg file and has produced an exhaustive report of the Federal campaign against the alternative press during the 1960s and 1970s. Even an audience accustomed to the abuses of Watergate, COINTELPRO and covert C.I.A. operations will find these documents appalling, even incredible. In addition to Rips's report, the book contains articles by Aryeh Neier, Todd Gitlin, Angus Mackenzie and Ginsberg which explore the historical perspective and the contemporary ramifications of this war against dissidence.

EL SALVADOR: Central America in the New Cold War. *Edited by Marvin E. Gettleman, Patrick Lacefield, Louis Menashe, David Mermelstein, Ronald Radosh. Grove Press. 397 pp. $7.95.* Here is a valuable resource for anyone concerned with U.S. foreign policy and the fate of El Salvador. Among the useful pieces collected here are an interview with Bishop Oscar Romero, whose opposition to the Salvadoran military brought about his assassination; Congressional testimony of the

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captain in the Salvadoran Army who disclosed the connection between the army and the death squads operating in the countryside; Michael Harrington's discussion of the domino theory; Jeane Kirkpatrick's *Commentary* article that introduced the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes; and a group of official pronouncements by Reagan, Haig and Co. The editors make no attempt to disguise their opposition to current U.S. policy toward El Salvador, but they do present views on all sides of the conflict, convinced that the evidence is in their favor.

D.C.

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Victor/Victoria
Wasn't That A Time!

Looking back at the movies of the past three months, it might be said that what the entertainment pudding lacked was a sufficiency of *joie de vivre*, a fault that no doubt reflects the almost total absence of that ingredient in our real world. It is a pleasure, then, to report that two current pictures abound in it.

Victor/Victoria is an update of the old-fashioned musical farce, one that depends heavily on mistaken identity and a brisk traffic through luxurious bedrooms. It is directed by Blake Edwards, with Julie Andrews radiant in the title role(s), and with Robert Preston and James Garner gallantly supporting her. Edwards, who also wrote the script, is said to have got his idea from a 1930s German film by Reinhold Schünzel, but you could as well say that he invented it to go Shakespeare one better. Instead of a youth playing Viola masquerading as Cesario, Andrews plays Victoria masquerading as Victor impersonating Victoria. Of course, Andrews looks utterly feminine when got up in men's clothes, and part of the ebullient absurdity of the film is the assumption that she could for one moment have fooled the nightclub proprietors and clientele of pre-World War II Paris.

As Victor in the stage guise of the beautiful and talented Victoria, she powerfully attracts King Marchan (Garner), a Chicago mobster on holiday in company with a blonde floozy

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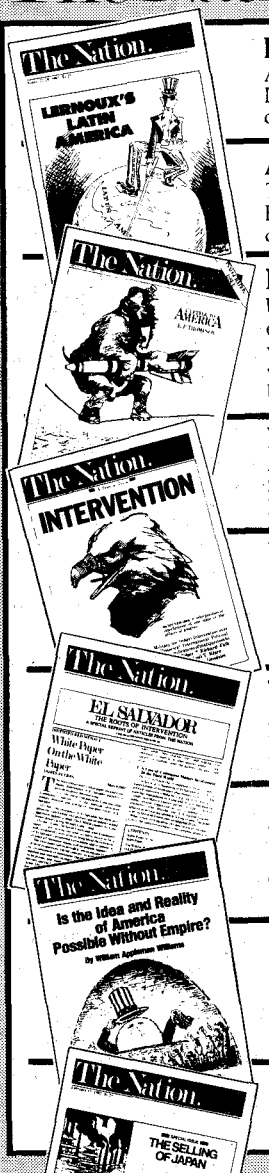

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(Lesley Ann Warren), whose voice resembles the clashing of gears, and a mountainous bodyguard (Alex Karras). But I am getting ahead of the story.

Victoria, an English operetta singer flat broke in Paris and hungry to the point of bartering her virtue for a meatball, falls in with Toddy (Preston), an American master of ceremonies who has just been fired for having created a riot in a transvestite nightclub where he was employed. Also, his boyfriend has decamped, and Toddy is not in top form. But he is a resourceful man, and it is his idea that Victoria, who cannot land a cabaret job as a woman, might do very well for them both as a man pretending to be a woman. And so it proves. The natural gifts that avail her nothing in her own person make her the toast of Paris when it is thought she is performing in drag.

At this point enters the male chauvinist from the Windy City. King Marchan is aroused by the seductive entertainer and will not be persuaded that his sexual instinct has been led astray by an impostor. At the same time, Victoria finds herself drawn to the gangster (for that matter, so does Toddy, until he is distracted from that pursuit by Squash, the burly bodyguard, who impetuously bounds from the closet). I scarcely need add that the plot gathers momentum, not to say mayhem, as it proceeds; but there is a final twist that should be reported. Though Victoria falls enthusiastically into the arms of King, she is not prepared to abandon the profitable, and for her liberating, role of Victor. She insists that the two of them show themselves about Paris as homosexual lovers, a procedure that hilariously taxes King's gangster masculinity and teaches him some rough lessons in tolerance.

Every bedroom farce intends to be naughty, but *Victor/Victoria* carries the intention much further than earlier generations would have found acceptable. Although it is set in the 1930s, its night-world characters talk as freely—if with considerably faster wit—as do high school students of the 1980s. The disparity gives the film a kind of anachronistic jolt. Not that the script is flawless. Preston's lines are loaded with sly asides on the practices of homosexuality, Edwards presumably finding these infallibly funny. On the contrary, they are tiresome and detract from Preston's otherwise appealing portrayal of a high-spirited man who is unabashedly gay.

But all in all, *Victor/Victoria* is both raucous and tender, ribald and romantic. The big production numbers (music by Henry Mancini; lyrics by Leslie Bricusse) would stop any Broadway show; the sets (Rodger Maus) are absurdly lush and properly theatrical, and the players convey the notion, irresistible when it succeeds, that they are having the time of their lives by performing at the top of their skill. If you want to see the show, plan to get in line early.

I don't much hold with reunions, and view with apprehension attempts by aging headliners to reaffirm their command of public enthusiasm. The scars of time are obvious enough without calling meetings to inspect the damage, and—Burt Lancaster in *Atlantic City* to the contrary notwithstanding—excursions out of dignified retirement are more often a test of the public's compassion than of the senior celebrity's durability. That being so, I approached The Weavers' *Wasn't That A Time!* in a cautious state of mind. Ten minutes into the picture I threw caution to the winds.

The Weavers—Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert, Fred Hellerman—do not defy time; they laugh at it, a shrewder strategy. One summer day, a couple of years ago, they got together for a picnic, their first meeting in a long while. They sang a few old songs for neighbors, who had paid admission with salads and pies. The applause set their blood racing, and to themselves they sounded much better than they had expected. So Seeger, who has little patience with prudence, said: Hey, we're great; why don't we take another shot at Carnegie Hall? And at Christmas time, 1980, there they were again on the great stage, singing love songs and fighting songs, laments and affirmations of life, for a full house of their old fans and the grown children of their fans.

Now I'm not so naïve as to believe that it happened quite as casually as that. The Weavers have always been superb showmen, and part of their magic is to create the illusion that they use none. (Another part of it, which over these mean years has become increasingly alluring, is their ability to make you believe that it is not so bad to be an American.) It seems likely that the whole thing started with Lee Hays, that large, stolid man who sang bass and was perhaps the sharpest wit of the

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group. In recent years he had been in bad health; a diabetic, with both legs amputated, he suspected he had not long to live (Hays died not long after the picture was made) and wanted to see his friends once again. But you don't hire a camera crew to film a picnic if you have nothing more in mind than auld lang syne. Very early in the proceedings, the movie must have been in prospect.

Jim Brown came in as director; Harold Leventhal, their longtime manager, took care of publicity and set up the arrangements with Carnegie Hall. Above all, younger singers—Arlo Guthrie, Don McLean, Holly Near and Peter, Paul and Mary—were invited to say what The Weavers had meant to them at the start of their careers. On that score they are eloquent, most of all Holly Near. She remembers the lift she got when first she watched Ronnie Gilbert throw back her head and pitch her song right over the voices of the men around her. Once again, at the picnic and on the stage, Gilbert shows what it was that had set Near on her way. She does it with style and a mischievous grin. She was always the poised Weaver; next to her, the men looked gawky. Now she sets the tone for the movie, keeping it light and away from the nostalgia they all wanted to avoid.

Because The Weavers had no wish to present themselves as ghosts out of the past. They wanted it understood that, though they had been away, they had not been absent (the young people at Carnegie Hall and now at Cinema 3, where the picture is playing, support their boast). Of course, the past could not be ignored; they remember the Village Vanguard and the years they spent on Joe McCarthy's blacklist. Seeger, I think it was, says they never thought of themselves as political, but that's nonsense. One of the others, probably Hellerman, remarks that songs are dangerous. At Carnegie they sang the old songs—"Kisses Sweeter than Wine," "Good Night, Irene," "The Hammer Song," labor songs and songs of the Spanish Civil War. But Gilbert also sang of Chile, a haunting, passionate ballad written by Holly Near.

The Weavers took a big chance and covered themselves with glory. What's more they had fun doing it. They always did have fun—or so it always seemed, for that too was part of their showmanship. *Wasn't That A Time!* is an occasion for rejoicing. □

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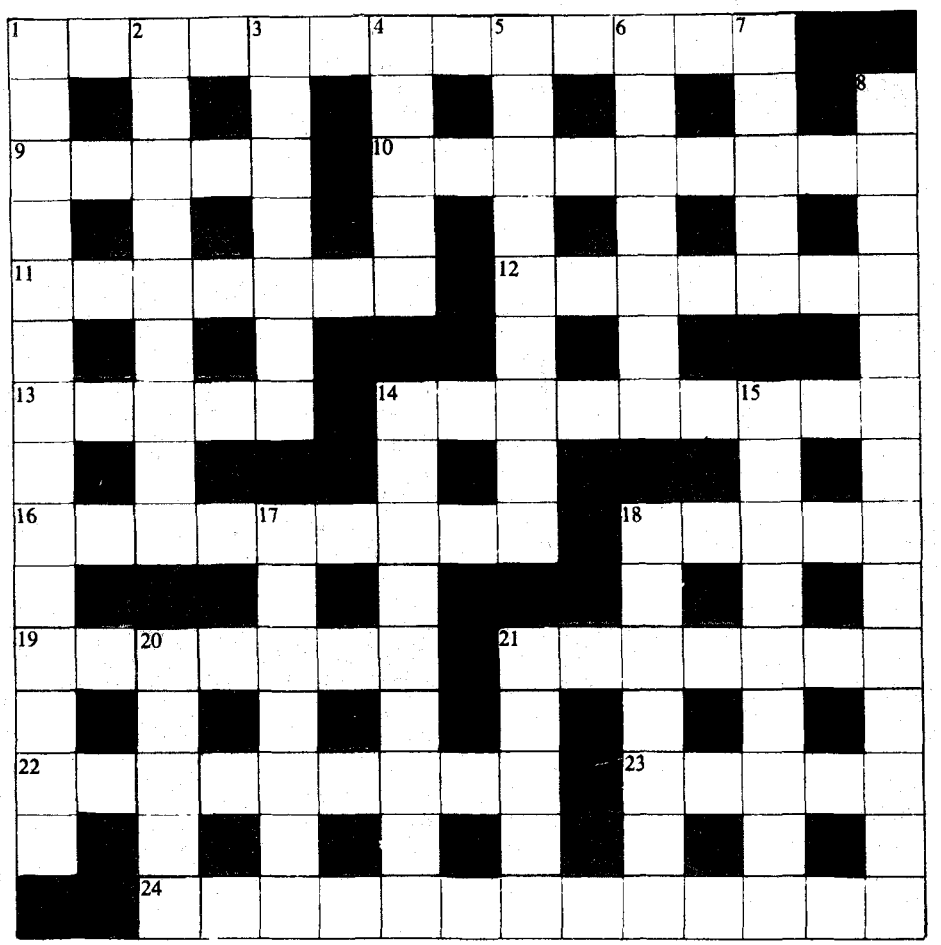
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1909

C	O	N	F	U	S	E	T	H	E	I	S	S	U	E
A	■	A	■	N	■	F	■	A	■	B	■	T	■	L
R	O	Y	E	R	■	F	A	L	S	E	N	O	T	E
D	■	I	■	E	■	U	■	T	■	R	■	M	■	M
I	N	G	R	E	S	S	■	E	L	I	Y	A	L	E
N	■	A	■	L	■	E	■	R	■	A	■	■	■	N
A	R	T	I	S	T	S	■	S	U	N	S	P	O	T
L	■	O	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	O
V	I	R	U	S	E	S	■	C	A	S	T	O	F	F
I	■	■	■	P	■	E	■	O	■	T	■	V	■	C
R	E	A	D	E	R	S	■	N	O	U	R	I	S	H
T	■	D	■	N	■	S	■	V	■	B	■	S	■	A
U	N	D	E	C	E	I	V	E	■	B	R	I	A	N
E	■	U	■	E	■	O	■	N	■	E	■	O	■	C
S	U	P	E	R	I	N	T	E	N	D	E	N	C	E

Crossword Puzzle No. 1910

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 No chance of being taken for a ride this way, but the unmarried live so simply. (7,1,5)
9 I contended such walls were reputedly only in certain eastern schools! (5)
10 Was Cato's job this, since oral examination might prove it? (9)
11 One can't say the equivalent is "no quarter"! (It's enough to make a pair of braces serve their purpose!) (3,4)
12 Building only partly constructed, if I certify so. (7)
13 One is shaken by what some dislike. (5)
14 Maids perhaps shook up by what some of them shake—being not forward, and far from stern! (9)
16 Does one see the old epic go this way? Perhaps it refers to a trailer kept at the station. (6,3)
18 A variety of ape is dark brown—in the main, a mixed type. (5)
19 Desperately want to have a go? (It's the setting of many an old tale.) (4,3)
21 There's something very slippery in a twining plant that's reputedly very straight. (7)
22 Gone wrong? Bet we got inside, just like a sort of agent! (2-7)
23 March out of this entrance—perhaps attached to a chain. (5)
24 One might be employed after an oral examination. (6,7)

DOWN

1 If you only say you're sorry, you won't give it. (7,7)
2 Court proceedings when I'm on the inside, peculiarly—such might be the expression. (9)
3 Might be described by 19—some have asked for such religion. (3-4)
4 What might be eaten by a Mexican or a Scot, possibly—or enjoyed by any of us. (5)
5 Henry, as some say, has a ring with an oriental sign on it—longing for the equivalent. (9)
6 The setting of a torrid novel, necessarily . . . (7)
7 . . . such as this? (5)
8 Not necessarily a 3 politician—unless there's no time. (5,9)
14 She's the daughter of Cassiopeia, and with the European capital, time's up! (9)
15 Where to find the lowest rank secluded. (2,7)
17 In short, the King of France (1824-30) has to inflict suffering for purposes of moral improvement. (7)
18 The philosopher's jacket? (7)
20 A passing remark, perhaps. (2,3)
21 Dangerous on the road or under the water, perhaps. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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